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A HISTORY OF SIENA





Walker & Cocherell, photo.

*Virgin & Child with Saints and Angels,
by Matteo da Siena.*

A HISTORY OF SIENA

BY LANGTON DOUGLAS

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

NEW YORK
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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR SAMUEL JAMES WAY

BARONET, D.C.L., LL.D., LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR AND CHIEF-
JUSTICE OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA AND CHANCELLOR
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE

P R E F A C E

I DO not think that any apology is necessary for this book. The Republic of Siena played an important part in Italy in the Middle Ages, and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But whilst her neighbour Florence has had many historians, there is no complete history of Siena in any language. Moreover, whilst there are many works in English on subjects connected with the art and literature of Renaissance, there are but few in our tongue which treat in a serious and scholarly spirit of the history of the Italian States.

My original intention was first to tell briefly the story of Siena, and afterwards to compose a fuller account of her troubled, struggling life. But, as time progressed, I determined to attempt to write a book which would both be useful to the historical student and also not without interest to the general reader.

I have sought to give a complete account of Siena's existence as an independent state, to see her life as a whole. There is a tendency, amongst those who write political and social history as well as amongst art-

historians, to regard the House of Life as though it were divided into idea-tight and emotion-tight compartments. Deeply conscious as I am of the solidarity of art and the solidarity of life, I have endeavoured to do something, both in this book and in my *Fra Angelico*, to counteract that tendency. In my monograph on Fra Angelico, I demonstrated that mistaken conceptions of the Dominican artist and his achievement had become prevalent because historians and critics of painting had neglected the study of the history of Renaissance architecture in Italy, and had failed to comprehend the true character of that religious movement in the Catholic Church of which the friar was the chief artistic representative. In this book I have sought to show that we cannot fully understand either the political history or the artistic history of Siena if we confine our attention to one of them to the neglect of the other.

It is impossible, I submit, to form a proper conception of a painter's achievement, and to fix his exact position in the history of his own art, without an adequate knowledge of the contemporary history of the sister arts, as well as of the political and social life of the people from which he sprang. An artist is not a monster. He is the product of a certain *milieu*. Like the rest of us, he cannot escape from the influences of heredity and environment. And as, even in their political lives, men suffer themselves to be guided more by their emotions than by ideas, so it is impossible to

understand a nation's political history without studying that harmonic expression of its emotions which we call its art.

In the case of Siena, practical considerations have not prevented the historian from treating of her life as a whole. For the history of this little Tuscan republic is so concentrated, so complete in itself. To collect, to sift, to set in order all that is known of her career has required but a few laborious years.

In writing this history, I received most generous help from the Cavaliere Alessandro Lisini, the Director of the Sienese Archives, Professor Zdekauer, and the late Professor Cesare Paoli—a scholar whose rare generosity was no less remarkable than his learning. In the early stages of my work, some manuscript notes by Mr Heywood, upon the political history of the Commune before Montaperti, saved me a good deal of preliminary labour. But for all that is contained in this volume I alone am responsible. I have not accepted without verification the statements of any modern authority however eminent, but have based my conclusions only upon the evidence of original authorities and contemporary documents.

I wish also to express here my gratitude to Mr Henry Wallis, for permitting me to use two illustrations from his book on early Italian majolica, and to Dr Thomas Hodgkin, Mr S. A. Strong, Mr R. Barr Smith, Mrs Dormer Fawcus, Miss Gwendolen Henchman and Miss Ethel Cooper, for various kind offices.

Finally, I desire to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to Mr A. H. Hallam Murray, who has been of the greatest service to me in preparing this book for the press.

L. DOUGLAS.

SIENA, *September* 1902.

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CORRIGENDA.

- (1) p. 294. The Loggia del Papa was already begun in 1460. In the Registers of the Secret Treasury at the Vatican is an entry of a payment made in December 1460, "per fare la loggia in Siena." The work can have progressed but slowly ; for the loggia was certainly not completed until late in the year 1462. See Müntz, E., *Les Arts à les Cours des Papes, Première Partie*, Martin V—Pie II. Paris, 1878.
- (2) p. 317. The original design of the font was prepared, no doubt, by Jacopo della Quercia about the year 1416. Owing, however, to the frequent and prolonged absence of that artist from his native city, the work upon the font progressed but slowly. In 1427, when Jacopo was at Bologna, the authorities determined to complete the font without further delay. Donatello, Ghiberti, Turino di Sano, and Turino's son Giovanni had executed the reliefs which had been entrusted to them. The principal decorations of the lower part of the font were ready to be put in their places. It was then found, I believe, that some portions of the original design were incomplete, or required modification. At any rate Stefano di Giovanni was commissioned to furnish a new design. After this design had been presented, the work upon the font was recommenced in earnest. Quercia arrived in Siena towards the end of March 1428, and gave Pietro del Minella, the sculptor to whom had been entrusted the work upon the font, some assistance in the task upon which he was engaged. In June Quercia was back in Bologna again, and the work was continued without his aid. He returned to Siena, however, in November, and superintended the completion of the font.

The document relating to Stefano di Giovanni's design—the only document we have, in fact, in which a design for the "Battesimo" is mentioned—is to be found in the Archivio di Stato at Siena, in the Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo (*Libro d'entrata e uscita, ad annum* at c. 65).

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A HISTORY OF SIENA



SIENA.

[To face p. i.

A HISTORY OF SIENA

CHAPTER I

SENA VETUS

WALLS and towers that flush rose-red at dawn and sunset above a sea of vivid green, flecked with silver grey—a craggy island in a billowy ocean; brown roofs that climb in broken tiers a sheer hillside crowned with a high-plumed aigrette of white and black and gold; narrow, sinuous streets, flanked with palaces which Dante may have seen; broad piazzas, whose brick pavements, stained a darker red by the hot blood of Salimbeni and Tolomei, have echoed back the railleries and anathemas of San Bernardino, and the vaticinations of “Christ’s fool,” Brandano, the tatterdemalion Savonarola of Siena; Gothic windows closely barred, from one of which, it may be, Angelica Montanini looked down upon her lover, the hereditary enemy of her race; and terraced gardens like that in which, at sunset, Ippolito Saracini lay concealed whilst the lovely Cangenova leant over her balcony, her eyes eloquent with the love which her lips had never spoken. Such is Siena, Sena vetus!

Sena vetus ! It is by this title that her loyal sons have loved to speak of her for at least eight hundred years. Sena vetus ! We see it inscribed on her coins and seals, as well as on the walls of her churches and palaces. And Siena can indeed boast a respectable antiquity. But yet there are few of her neighbour cities which have not good reason for claiming to be older than she is ; and there are fewer still which did not attain to greater importance in Italy, in, or before, the days of Roman rule. Siena, in fact, is a city of the Middle Ages. She did not play any great part in history until the thirteenth century. Then, for little more than a hundred years, she touched true greatness. The fame of her military prowess echoed through Christendom. Her merchant-princes had commercial houses in every great city of Western Europe.

But her hour of strength, and wealth, and glory was soon over. And upon it ensued a long, dreary period of decadence, a period of shameful contests at home, and of shameless concord with her rivals abroad ; and, save for one brilliant episode, when, re-inspired with a little of her old spirit, she made an Emperor who would have enslaved her weep with rage and fear, she does not again shine in history until her last struggle for liberty, when all her early courage and patriotism revived again, but did not avail to save her.

Siena is situated in the very heart of Tuscany. The hill on which the city is built is one of a chain of elevations which breaks off from the range of the Chianti. Florence is thirty miles away to the north. At a somewhat less distance, east by north-east of

Siena, is Arezzo; whilst forty miles to the west of her, the Mediterranean washes the dreary shores of the Maremma.

Of the origin of Siena, we have no certain knowledge. And but little material has been left with which to construct her early history. A few Etruscan remains, a scanty collection of inscriptions, two or three brief allusions to her in the pages of historians and geographers,—these are all the records that we have of the city's infancy.

But where history is silent, or wellnigh silent, there mythology is most voluble. The mists that enshroud Siena's origin simply do not exist for the chroniclers. They give us detailed accounts of the foundation of the city, which might be amusing had not the student of history so often read the same sort of thing before. These stories are as various as they are particular; yet they all naturally fall into one of two groups. On the one hand, there are those in which its origin is attributed to the agency of the Romans; on the other, those in which it is traced to the Gallic invaders of Italy. The narratives belonging to the latter group are the older. But of those that have come down to us, there is not one that in its present form is of an earlier date than the twelfth century. The oldest is that of our own John of Salisbury.¹ He gives the city a Gallic, we might almost say a British, origin. He tells us that it was founded by Brennus, leader of the Senones, a native of Great Britain, who left here his old and invalided soldiers. He declares that, both in form and in

¹ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus, sive de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum*; in Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. cxcix., lib. vi., cap. 17, c. 612, 613.

feature, the Sienese much resemble the Britons. It is almost unnecessary to say that, although he claims antiquity for the story, there is not a shred of evidence to support it; and the character of the narrative gives colour to the suggestion that it was manufactured in Florence, or in some other of Siena's rival cities.

This surmise seems the more credible when we turn to the pages of Villani. He, likewise, professes a belief in the Gallic origin of Siena; but, eager to detract as much as possible from her greatness, he assigns her foundation to a very late date. His first notice of her is full of the deep-seated hatred and prejudice that inspired all Florentines who wrote about Siena or the Sienese, from Dante to Vasari. When he utters the name of the rival city, all regard for historical truth at once leaves him; and he sets to work to construct an account of her origin which, without losing all appearance of verisimilitude, shall be as offensive and injurious as possible to the feelings of a people proud of its antiquity and its strength.

“The city of Siena,” he writes, “is a comparatively new city, which was commenced in the year of Christ 670, when Charles Martel, father of King Pipin of France, went with the Franks into the kingdom of Apulia, in the service of Holy Church. . . . And the said host of Franks and Ultramontanes, finding themselves at that spot where to-day stands Siena, left there all the old men and sickly folk, and such as could not bear arms. . . . And in that place these persons took up their abode. . . .

“And later on, Siena having waxed larger as time progressed, there was an influential and wealthy inn-

keeper in the place called Madonna Veglia. And a certain great Cardinal-legate, who was returning from the parts of France to the Court of Rome, sojourning at her inn, she did him great honour, and did not permit him to pay anything for his living there. The legate, upon receiving such courtesy at her hands, asked Madonna Veglia whether he could do any service for her at the Court. Whereupon the woman begged him earnestly, for love of her, to bring it about that Siena might have a bishopric of its own. And this he promised her to effect if possible. . . . And so Siena had a bishopric, and was called a city, . . . and for the honour of the said Madonna Veglia . . . it was always called Siena La Veglia.”¹

Of course this narrative is not all an invention of Villani. On the contrary, the story of Madonna Veglia was in existence in Florence before his day;² and before ever he put pen to paper, his fellow-countrymen rejoiced to repeat the legend that spoke of the ancestors of the Sienese as aged and infirm folk. But Villani was the first historian to call Siena “a comparatively new city,” and to place her origin as late as 670 A.D. He was the first, too, to give literary shape to, and to compress into one brief stinging paragraph, all the most malicious historical slanders that the enemies of Siena had uttered in regard to her.

The legends relating to the Roman origin of the city belong, at least, in their present form, to a later period, the period of the Renaissance. There must have been, however, some ancient tradition that the city

¹ Villani, *Historie*, Venice, 1559, cap. lvi., p. 32.

² C. Paoli, *Di un libro del Dott. O. Hartwig, estratto dall' Arch. Stor. Ital., Quarta Serie*, tom. ix., 1882, pp. 8, 9. See also *Arch. Stor. Ital., ad ann.*, p. 74.

was a daughter of Rome; for as early as the thirteenth century, the wolf and the twins was a badge of the commune,¹ a badge which in the following age Ambrogio Lorenzetti made more popular.

The most favoured, perhaps, of these Renaissance legends is that which is now attributed to Agostino Patrizi, a bishop of Pienza, who lived in the fifteenth century. He relates that Senio and Aschio, sons of Remus, fleeing from their cruel uncle, bore away with them from Rome the image of the wolf and the twins. They took, he says, the road to Tuscany. And being in danger of capture, they vowed in their extremity to build a temple to Apollo, should they escape from Romulus' emissaries. Whereupon the god sent them two noble horses, one as black as night, and the other of purest white, and with these they managed to get clear away.

On reaching the banks of the Tressa, they joined themselves to the shepherds of the country; and on the spot now known as Castelvechio, they built a strong castle to which they gave the name of Castel Senio. Having overcome the opposition stirred up against them by their uncle, they ordained great sacrifices to Apollo and Diana. And from the altar of Apollo the fumes that arose were densely black, whilst a white smoke ascended from Diana's sacrifice. Whereupon the brothers took for their badge the *balzana*.²

Some modern writers would claim for this legend

¹ It was not until 1344 that the wolf and the twins appeared on the city seal. See the *Miscellanea Storica Senese*, vol. iii., 1895, p. 195.

² L. Banchi, *Le Origini Favolose di Siena, secondo una presunta cronaca di Tisbo Colonnese*, Siena, 1882. See also G. Rondoni, *Tradizioni popolari e leggende di un comune medioevale e del suo contado*, Florence, 1886, pp. 13-27. The *balzana* is a shield of which the upper half is white, the lower black.

a mediæval rather than a Renaissance source. The question is one of little historical importance. Just as the legends we have quoted from Villani had their origin in the Florentine hatred of Siena, so stories like this of Patrizi owed their being to the desire of the Sienese to make their town appear to be a second Rome, the eldest daughter of the Eternal City. The basis of truth upon which all this fantastic edifice of fable rests, is the fact that Siena was indeed at one time a Rome in miniature. And for this, the evidence, although not very abundant, is adequate.

Let us turn away then from legend to history. Let us see what can reasonably be concluded in regard to the early story of the city from the evidence of Etruscan and Roman remains, from inscriptions, and from the statements of early historians and geographers.

The earliest records that we have consist of the cinerary urns, the pitchers and oil-flasks, the lamps and lacrimatories of an Etruscan necropolis. Such a necropolis, not in truth a very extensive one, was discovered in Siena, near to the Porta Camollia, half a century ago; and a portion of the contents of it have now found a home in the local Accademia dei Fisiocritici. These relics tell us that there was once some kind of an Etruscan settlement upon this spot; and the testimony that they afford is confirmed by the fact that in the pages of the chroniclers, as well as in the Archives of Siena, we find mention of similar discoveries made in the city and its neighbourhood in earlier times. But from the remains now in Siena, we can gather nothing conclusive either as to the origin of the settlement, or as to its ancient character. We turn, therefore, to such Roman inscriptions as

are likely to throw light upon the early history of the city.

In the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* we find but nineteen inscriptions relating to Siena,¹ and only one of these now remains in the town itself. But although these epigraphs are few in number, they are sufficient to establish the fact that in early times Siena had a territory of her own, and was independent of her more powerful neighbour cities. For we learn from them that, on being enfranchised by Rome, the community was assigned to the Oufentine tribe,² a tribe to which none of the other cities of Etruria were given.

It was probably in 90 B.C. that its inhabitants received the rights of Roman citizenship. In that year, it will be remembered, the Italians, who were not Roman citizens, took up arms, with the object of gaining the franchise and of ridding themselves of certain intolerable wrongs. A considerable number of communities in Umbria and Etruria remained faithful in their allegiance to Rome throughout the whole course

¹ At one time it was an open question whether some of these inscriptions belonged to Siena or to Senigallia (*Sena Gallica*). Now there is no more uncertainty. The ancient name of Senigallia differs from that of Siena in orthography, sound, and origin. In Ptolemy's *Geographia*, Etruscan Siena is called *Saiva*, and in the inscriptions found in Siena itself, *Saena*. Inscriptions on which we find mention of, or allusion to, *Saena* belong to Siena and not to Senigallia. See P. Rossi, *Le origini di Siena*, I.; in *Conferenze della Com. Sen. di Stor. Patria*, Siena, Lazzeri, 1895, pp. 42-47; also in an article by the same writer in the *Bulletino Senese di Storia Patria*, anno ii. (1895), fasc. i., II. *Le iscrizioni romane del territorio senese*, I. *L'iscrizione dell' Augustale di Porta Romana*, p. 74.

In the map of Italy in the manuscript copy of Ptolemy's *Geographia* at Mount Athos, *Saiva* is rightly placed due south of Faesulae and east of Volterra. See *Géographie de Ptolémée; reproduction photolithographique du manuscrit grec . . . au Mont Athos, précédée d'une introduction historique sur le Mont Athos . . . par Victor Langlois*, Paris, Didot, 1867, Plate lxxii.

² *Corpus inscript. Lat.*, VII., 1345; III., 5538; XI., 1804, 1805, 1815.

of the war. And to all of these, says Mommsen, citizenship was granted by a law called the *Lex Julia*. It seems probable that Siena was amongst these communities.

But beyond the fact of her existence as an independent community, a century before the Christian era, we glean nothing from the inscriptions as to her earlier history. Probably for centuries the settlement continued to exist as a canton,¹ that is to say as an aggregate of small family-villages having a local centre in some strongly fortified position which served both as a place of meeting and a refuge. These centres were established as a rule on mountain-tops. In time, houses would begin to grow up within the stronghold's outer circle of walls, and so the nucleus of a town was formed. In Etruria, owing to the commercial instincts of the people, cities arose at an earlier date than in other parts of Italy. But for a long period of time, there as elsewhere, many communities remained in the cantonal stage. And, from the absence of any mention of Siena in the earlier writers on Etruria, we conclude that she must have been one of these. Nor does it seem unreasonable to assume that the fortified centre of the pastoral community was on that precipitous hill which from time immemorial has borne the name of Castelvecchio, and that the little town gradually grew up about the fortress. At any rate, in the latter days of the Republic, probably as we have seen under the *Lex Julia*, the people of Siena were accorded the rights of Roman citizenship.

About sixty years after this event, Siena became a

¹ See an article by Prof. U. Pedroli, in the *Rivista di Storia Antica*, Messina, D'Amico, 1897, entitled *L'origine della Colonia romana in Siena*.

Roman colony. In Pliny's *Natural History* we find the town mentioned amongst other neighbouring colonies of Etruria belonging to the period of Augustus. And under the name of Saena Julia it appears in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, which is something between a map and an itinerary, and was made probably in the fourth century, after the model, perhaps, of more ancient charts of the times of Augustus and the Antonines. It is now proved that the title *Coloniæ Juliæ* was specially applied to those colonies that were established by Octavianus in 29 B.C. after the battle of Actium. They were founded to appease the discontented veterans of the Roman army, and were placed for the most part in communities of some standing, which thus received an increase of population and therewith the *jus coloniæ*.

Like other colonies, Siena became, in so far as the conformation of the soil and of the original town permitted it, a Rome in miniature. We may picture, then, Roman Saena with her temples, her baths, her theatres, her triumphal arches, her fountains, and her aqueducts.¹ To these last, reference is made in an inscription² of the year 394 A.D., now at the Villa Mattei in Rome. It lauds the public virtues of a citizen of Siena who restored the ancient water-courses and beautified her fountains at his own expense.

It was, no doubt, certain dim and confused traditions of the main aqueduct which brought the water

¹ For an attempt to establish the topography of Roman Siena, see Rossi's *Siena, Colonia Romana*, II.; in *Conferenze della Com. Sen. di Stor. Patria*, Siena, 1897.

² *Corpus Inscript. Lat.*, VI., No. 1793. See Rossi, *Le iscrizioni romane del territorio senese*; II. *La iscrizione dell'acquedotto romano*; in the *Bullettino Sen. di Stor. Patria*, anno iv., 1897, fasc. i., pp. 136-154. The inscription is of the year 394 A.D.

to the old city, that gave rise to the mediæval Sieneſe fable, telling of a copious ſubterranean river of pure water, a fabled ſtream called the Diana, which flowed, it was ſaid, under Siena and its territory to the ſea. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Sieneſe fooliſhly ſpent immense ſums of money in trying to diſcover the loſt river. Much wiſer had they been had they truſted rather to good engineering than to fantaſtic traditions, had they ſought, after the Roman faſhion, to bring to the city the ſupply of water it ſo ſorely needed for the proper development of thoſe induſtries on which it depended for its commercial proſperity, and for its ſucceſs in its ſtruggle with rival mercantile cities. The obſtinate belief of the Sieneſe in this fable provoked deriſion amongſt the Florentines, and led Dante to sneer bitterly at Siena's "hopes of finding the Diana."¹

And as in its outward aſpect the colony was a Rome in miniature, ſo it was in its government. Saena Julia had its magiſtrates, its ſenate, its prieſts, its *plebs*. Of ſome of its dignitaries, inſcriptions have preſerved the names. Amongſt the tablets found ſome twenty years ago, in the veſtibule of the ancient temple at Oſtia, was one to the honour of *Q. Petronius, Curator Rei-publicæ Saenensium et Prætor Etruriæ XV. populorum*. Whiſt at Siena itſelf, now built into the wall of the Porta Romana, is a votive tablet, erected by a certain C. Vitricius, who was, ſo it tells, one of the *sexviri Auguſtales*, an honour much ſought after by wealthy parvenus in provincial towns.²

It is impoſſible to ſay when the Sieneſe firſt

¹ Dante, *Purg.* xiii., 151-3.

² An incident in early Sieneſe hiſtory is alluded to by Tacitus, *Hiſt.* iv., 45.

became Christian. Legend attributes their conversion to S. Ansano, a young Roman of noble family, who so convinced the people by his preaching and by the miracles that he wrought, that many of them threw down their idols and accepted the Christian faith. Cast by the Proconsul's order into a cauldron of burning oil, he emerged unhurt. Afterwards he suffered decapitation in the place called Dofana, hard by the spot where afterwards was fought the battle of Montaperti.

At Castelveccchio, in Siena, is shown the prison where, according to tradition, the young saint was incarcerated, from the window of which he is said to have baptized converts.¹

Of S. Ansano we find no record of an earlier date than the thirteenth century, though in the *Ordo Officiorum Ecclesiæ Senensis* of 1275, his festival is spoken of as an ancient institution. But, however shadowy and unsubstantial a figure he may appear to be to the historian and the stranger, to a Sienese S. Ansano is a very real personage. From childhood the native of Siena has been accustomed to hear stories of S. Ansano, and has been taught to regard him as one of the city's protectors. And not only has the young saint's effigy grown familiar to him through seeing it constantly on the walls of the churches. In the main street of Siena, at the very centre of the city's life, on the *Loggia di Mercanzia*, stands the figure of S. Ansano, moulded with that antique feeling for form that we are accustomed to associate with the art of Antonio Federighi.

The latest of the relics of Roman Siena, is that in-

¹ For other legends of S. Ansano, see Rondoni, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-81. It is needless to say that the present building is of a much later date.

scription now at the Villa Mattei, in Rome, to which we have just alluded, an inscription which belongs to the last decade of the fourth century. When the Senate of Siena ordained it, German hordes were already pressing upon the boundaries of the Empire, and the degenerate sons of Rome were already filled with vague forebodings of their city's doom.

CHAPTER II

THE BIRTH OF THE COMMUNE

IT was in the year 408, that Alaric, king of the Ostrogoths, descended upon corrupt Italy. The inhabitants of the peninsula, enervated by luxury, were unable to offer him any effectual resistance. Rome herself, the beautiful "Queen of the world," was ravished by the barbarian; the metropolis of culture, the central seat of law and order, was outraged and destroyed. It seemed to many that the civilisation of the West was doomed; and that the ruin of the world as foretold by the prophets and sibyls had begun.¹

When so great and venerable a city was, for a time at least, shattered and submerged by the rising tide of barbarism, little wonder was it that many of the smaller towns of Italy were wellnigh swept away. Under the stress of that irresistible flood, Siena seems to have sunk into insignificance. At any rate, of her history from the fourth to the seventh century, no contemporary record has come down to us; but we know that before this period she had received her first bishop, and had become the centre of an independent see.²

¹ Gregorovius, *The History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*. Translated from the German by Annie Hamilton, London, George Bell and Sons, 1894, vol i., p. 163.

² Pecci relates that Siena received her first bishop in the year 306 A.D., three years after the death of S. Ansano. Malavolti tells us that the see was founded in the time of Theodoric, by Pope John I. But neither writer pro-

Probably her municipal constitution remained intact until the coming of the Lombards, the most destructive of Italy's invaders. Then, not only her ancient civic government, but her newly-won spiritual jurisdiction disappeared in the wreck of the old order. Siena became a part of the patrimony of the Lombard king, and was ruled by a *Gastaldo*, as his representative.

But after that Rome had conquered her conquerors and made them subservient to her spiritual authority, better days dawned for Siena. Under Rotharis, her bishopric was restored. And we find the royal administrator combining with the bishop and his flock to further what they conceived to be the just rights of Siena and her spiritual head.

The protagonists in the great contest¹ that then commenced were the bishops of Siena and Arezzo. The latter, according to the Sienese account, had, during the abeyance of their bishopric, assumed jurisdiction over several important parishes belonging to the diocese of Siena. After the restoration of the see, the Aretine prelate would not consent to restore them. This refusal was naturally resented by the bishop of Siena as well as by his faithful people. And what made this usurpation peculiarly objectionable to them, was that by it the boundary of the see of Arezzo was brought to within a few miles of the gates of their city.

duces adequate evidence in support of his statements. We infer, however, from the documents relating to the controversy between the sees of Arezzo and Siena, that the bishopric must have been in existence in the sixth century. See Pecci, *Storia del vescovado di Siena*, Lucca, 1748, p. 1, and Malavolti, *Historia de' fatti e guerre de' Senesi*, etc., Venice, 1599, Prima parte, f. 16.

¹ Muratori, *Ant. It. Med. Aevi.*, tom vi., Dissert lxxiv., col. 367 *et seq.*
Troya, *Codice diplomatico Longobardo*, vol. iv., p. 3, 153-238.

The Aretines were not content to defend their claim with words. They soon resorted to force; and Gondi-bert, the royal judge at Siena, was treacherously slain by them during a parley at Pacina.

Ultimately, after much bickering, the case was taken to the royal court at Pavia; when Liutprand himself, sitting with his own bishop, and with many of his judges as assessors, gave his decision in favour of the Bishop of Arezzo.

But the Sieneese were not satisfied; and after various lawful and unlawful attempts to recover what they had lost, they succeeded, in 853, in obtaining a reversal of the decision of the Lombard king. Then, after two centuries of controversy between the rival sees, the Pope sitting in St Peter's, together with the Emperor Lewis II. and many archbishops, gave judgment that the disputed parishes belonged of ancient right to the see of Siena and must be restored to it.

This controversy, not itself of much historical importance, is interesting because in the documents relating to it we find the only direct evidence that we possess as to the character of the government of Siena, during the long dark ages that followed the fall of the Roman empire. In the presence of these records, we feel like some mountaineer when a sudden rift in the clouds below reveals to him distinctly for a moment some town or village far away. We see conquerors and conquered, *gastaldo*, and bishop, and people, working together for one common end. We see them ably and stubbornly contesting their cause in the royal and papal courts. Such an experience cannot but have had an important influence on the citizens in making them realise their unity, in keeping alive that corporate

feeling which never wholly died out in the Italian municipalities, in promoting in them a spirit of jealous local patriotism.

But fifty years before this long controversy came to a close, an event had happened than which there have been few of greater importance in the annals of the human race. On Christmas Day 800, Charles, the Frankish king, was crowned Emperor of the Romans by Leo the Third, amidst the unbounded enthusiasm of the multitude, who saw their city again recognised as the legitimate source of empire, the centre of all political power.

The only immediate effect of this event upon Siena was, that imperial Counts took the place of royal *gastaldi* as chief magistrates of the city and its territory. But here, as throughout all Christendom, the ultimate results of the revival of the Empire were of a most momentous character.

In the first place, that revival was the chief but not the only cause of a great advance in the power of the local episcopate.

How this came about it is not difficult to understand. Under the new order, the Church, the kingdom of God upon earth, appeared unmistakably as the higher, spiritual part, the soul of Christendom, the State merely as its body. "The Pope was recognised as vicar of Christ in all divine and eternal things, the Emperor as vicar only in transient and earthly things." The former was the sun, the life-giver, the latter, but the moon, who owes her radiance to the greater light.¹

It is not surprising that the growth of such a theory of world-government led, in Siena as elsewhere, to a

¹ Gregorovius, *ed. cit.*, vol. ii., pp. 506, 507.

gradual augmentation of the prestige and authority of the Church, and of the bishop, as its local overseer.

Another, and a scarcely less momentous change, which owed its origin to the Franks, was, that here, as in other parts of Italy, feudal tenure began, slowly and gradually, to take the place of allodial.

By the new system, the holder of a piece of land, whether large or small, was the lord of those who dwelt thereon. Whilst it was his duty to give them fatherly protection, they, in their turn, were bound to render to him military service and obedience. Each tenant held towards his lord the position which his own tenants held towards him. At the apex of the social pyramid stood the Emperor, from whom, as tenants-in-chief, the great lords held their territories.

In the country round about Siena, feudal ideas early acquired great influence. Several of the sons and descendants of the imperial courts succeeded in acquiring important fiefs in that part of Tuscany. Gradually the allodial proprietors grew fewer and fewer, and feudal castles rose up on every side of the city.

The strongholds of these great lords commanded the road from Siena to Rome, as well as those which led through the Tuscan Maremma to the sea. And from all who passed along these highways extortionate tolls were exacted. Nor did such gains content the feudal aristocracy. They frequently raided the cattle of the inhabitants of Siena's territory and plundered the caravans of her merchants. Moreover, by constant petty wars amongst each other, they helped to create a general feeling of insecurity of life and property, and seriously impeded the progress of the young trading community.

Against nobles as powerful as the Aldobrandeschi of Santa Fiora, the Ardengheschi and the Pannocchieschi, the counts of Siena could do but little. The Marquis of Tuscany rarely interfered in any way in the affairs of the county. And for long periods of time, it was useless to look for justice or redress to the distant Emperor. There was but one power to whom the citizens and the lesser nobility of the *contado* could turn for succour, and that was the Church, and her local head, the Bishop.

The Sienese episcopate, for reasons to which I have already alluded, gradually grew in power and prestige throughout the ninth and tenth centuries. In the eleventh, its temporal dominion was recognised and legalised by the Emperor himself, who was not unwilling to see in Siena a government strong enough to act as a counterpoise to his unruly feudatories in the country round, provided that such a government fully acknowledged his authority as overlord.

Between 1053 and 1056, Henry III—in part merely confirming earlier donations—formally conferred upon the Bishop certain valuable possessions and privileges. He granted him Castelvechio, the ancient centre of civic authority. He also gave him jurisdiction over all persons resident in the episcopal territory, with free permission to erect fortresses thereon without interference from archbishop or duke, marquis or count. Thus did the Bishop of Siena become a potent temporal ruler.¹

To their chief pastor, then, the flock turned for help and protection when its lands were ravaged by the great nobles. As a tenant-in-chief of the Empire, he had

¹ Pecci, *op. cit.*, p. 120 *et seq.* Pecci gives a copy of the document, which existed in his day.

formidable temporal weapons at his disposal. When to his own numerous vassals were added the bands of the citizens of Siena, and the followers of the lesser nobility, he became a powerful military rival of the greatest of the neighbouring feudal lords. But he did not rely only, or chiefly, upon his material strength. He had other tremendous powers which he did not scruple to use for the purpose of maintaining and extending the rights and privileges both of the citizens and of the see. And with their aid he was able to effect his ends. The great feudatories, Ardengheschi and Soarzi, Manenti and Guglieschi, yielded "to the blessed Virgin and to their lord the Bishop," that which could not have been won from them by material force alone.

Thus, in May 1137, the Soarzi ceded certain lands and a part of a castle to the Bishop of Siena.¹ And we gather from the evidence of other similar documents, that the Bishop accepted this gift on behalf of the city. The concession, moreover, was made in the presence of all the people of Siena assembled in Parliament in the piazza of S. Cristoforo.

Ten years later, a part of Montepescoli was given to the Church of Sta Maria at Siena; and the donors undertook to return double to the Church, its rectors, and the commune of the city, should they ever presume to take back any of the property thus granted.²

In the same way, Ranuccio Soarzi of Staggia, with his sons and brothers, gave in pledge the castle of Strove "to Rainerio, Bishop of Siena, to the Church of

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Caleffo Vecchio*, c. 4^t. Rondoni's references to these books are inaccurate. But I had no difficulty in finding the entries in the *Caleffi* with the help of Lisini's admirable *Inventario*.

² Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Caleffo Vecchio*, c. 17. The chief donor was Gualcherino di Tignoso.

Saint Mary, and to all the people of the Sienese state," promising to succour and defend the inhabitants in time of war, and specially against the Florentines. But he would not pledge himself to aid them in any conflict with the Emperor, the Marquis of Tuscany, the Bishop of Volterra, or the abbots of Isola and Marturi. He further agreed to reside in Siena for two months in every year in time of peace, and for six months in time of war. On these conditions he swore fealty to the Bishop.¹ Similar cessions were made by the Guglieschi in 1159² and the Soarzi in 1163.³

Nor were such submissions merely solemn acknowledgments of Christ's Kingship over all members of the Church. The language of the legal documents precludes any such interpretation. The Bishop was not only the spiritual lord of these nobles; he also held the position of a Count of the Empire. And the formulæ used on these occasions resemble those that were customary in an act of submission to any lay lord. It is impossible, in fact, to come to any other conclusion than that the Bishop was regarded as the political, as well as the spiritual, representative of the people of Siena. It was as their temporal ruler that he summoned them together in Parliament in the piazza of S. Cristoforo to witness and receive these submissions.

There gradually grew up, then, in Siena a mixed rule, half lay, half clerical. At first the imperial Counts and the Bishop shared the government of the city and its *contado*. Later on, Consuls took the place of the Counts

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Caleffo Vecchio*, 5, 5^t, and *Caleffo dell' Assunta*, c. 308, 308^t.

² Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Caleffo Vecchio*, c. 23^t.

³ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Caleffo Vecchio*, c. 5^t, 6.

within the city walls, whilst the rule of the latter was confined to the territory outside. And so, in the middle of the twelfth century, we find the consuls of the infant commune and the bishops mentioned together in public documents as the chief magistrates of the city.

But this dual form of government was not of long continuance. As a temporal ruler the Bishop had soon served his purpose. With his aid the power for evil of the great feudatories, if it had not been destroyed, had been sorely crippled. Many of them, convinced that further resistance was useless, had sought the friendship and protection of the city. It was then that the civic nobility, continually reinforced by immigrants from the *contado*, came to realise that the further continuance of the temporal authority of the Bishop might prove a serious drawback to the development of Siena. As before they had combined with the Bishop to break the power of the great territorial lords, so now they united with the people against the obsolescent temporal authority of their spiritual head.

In order to weld this alliance, the nobles consented to give the people a share in the government of the commune; and, in the year 1147, it was provided that of the three consuls of the city, one should be chosen from the people. Thus the commune of Siena won their first modest victory, and gained recognition as a political power in the State.

The party thus formed was in some sense Ghibelline in principle, though not yet in name. It was composed almost entirely of merchants; for in Siena the oldest of the noble families were then beginning to take to trade. And thus for two reasons, the one political, the other economic, it was peculiarly hostile to the rival trading

community in the valley of the Arno, which professed Guelph sympathies, and was ever on the alert to hinder Siena's commercial expansion. Of these two main causes of dissension between the neighbouring cities, the economic, as we shall presently see, was by far the stronger. It was jealousy of Florence much more than devotion to the imperial cause that finally, in 1167, led the new party openly to oppose their Bishop.

Up to that year Rainerio, the venerable prelate who had won so many battles for city and see against the great feudatories, had maintained unshaken his powerful position in Siena. The imperialist party would probably have assumed the offensive before then, but for the fact that there was seated in the papal chair a son of Siena, a man of singular courage and ability, for whom his fellow-citizens, in spite of their professed adherence to the imperial cause, cherished a warm admiration. But at length the hatred of the Sienese for their commercial rivals proved stronger than their personal regard for the Pope; and the truce between the Bishop and the predominant party in the city came to an end.

The immediate occasion of the outbreak was the Pope's refusal of a not unreasonable petition of his fellow-countrymen. They requested his Holiness to place under the convent of Vallombrosa an important religious house in Sienese territory, enjoying large immunities, which was a dependency of a convent in Florence, and which they seem to have regarded as a centre of disaffection against their government. The Pope's refusal of this petition enraged the Sienese and tended to strengthen the imperial party in Siena. And Barbarossa, on his part, sought to draw the citizens yet more to his side by conceding to them new privileges.

In the year 1167 the imperial chancellor conceded to the Sienese that it should not be permitted to the lords of Orgiale, an important stronghold to the south of Siena, to repair or to build castles within twelve miles of the city. At the same time many of the submissions and grants made to the Commune through the Bishop were formally recognised by the Emperor as overlord.¹

Thus encouraged, the Consuls of Siena openly declared themselves partisans of the Emperor, and sought to force the local clergy to support the Anti-Pope. In vain did Rainerio anathematise the chief magistrates and their supporters. In vain did Alexander lay his native city under an interdict.² The victory remained with the imperialists, and the aged Bishop, "expulsus a scismaticis," spent his days in exile. Nor was it until that memorable day, July 24, 1177, when, in the Piazza of St Mark at Venice, the vanquished Barbarossa prostrated himself at the feet of the successor of St Peter, that Siena was fully reconciled with the Pope.

A decade later, a passing storm disturbed for a time Siena's friendship with the Emperor. Frederick, according to some chroniclers, took away all the exmural territories which had been ruled by the Tuscan communes. Villari has cast doubt upon this statement. And certainly no record of any such complete measure of confiscation is to be found in the archives of Florence and Siena. What probably did occur was that the Emperor, as

¹ Böhmer, *Acta Imperii Selecta*, No. 1130.

² Arch. di Stato, Florence, *Diplomatico, Provenienza di Passignano, copia sincrona*. Placed by mistake under the date February 20, 1257. It is dated from Benevento, see R. Davidsohn, *Siena interdotta sotto un papa Senese*. In the *Bullettino Sen. di Stor. Patria*, anno v., 1898, fasc. i. pp. 63-70. This document was unknown to Rondoni, who is usually well informed; and he does not at all grasp the significance of the events which led up to the fall of Rainerio.

overlord, refused to recognise any seizures or concessions that had not been made valid by his recognition. As a consequence of his action, the ambitious young communes were threatened with serious loss. Some of them, we know, proved recalcitrant. And even Siena, usually so loyal, incurred the displeasure of her lord. In 1185, Frederick visited the city, with the object of enforcing his imperial rights. And a year later, upon the citizens resisting his demands, his son Henry laid siege to it.¹ If, as has been conjectured, the great feudatories who were neighbours of Siena sought privately to stir up the displeasure of the Emperor against the Commune, and to move him to cripple its power, they were sorely disappointed in their schemes. For Henry soon renounced the siege of the city, and the Government concluded a stable and advantageous peace with the Emperor.

According to the terms of it, the citizens first of all consented to give up all that they had taken and usurped, that belonged by right to the heritage of the Countess Matilda and to the margravate of Tuscany. They recognised absolutely all imperial rights. They swore fealty to Henry, and promised not to summon together any army without their lord's consent. They agreed to restore the lands they had illegally seized, and submitted themselves to the Emperor's decision in regard to them.

In return, Frederick granted the Commune the right to elect its own consuls and to coin money, and gave them jurisdiction over the city and its *contado*

¹ Villani (lib. v., cap. xi.) and Tizio (tom. i., c. 56) says that Frederick himself besieged the city. But see *Annales Senenses*, in Pertz., *Mon. Germ.*, tom. xix., 226.

as well as over the vassals of the Bishop. Subject to certain conditions, he granted them, also, the right to tax those under their rule. But they were to pay a fixed tribute every Eastertide to the imperial treasury at S. Miniato al Tedesco. Lastly, he commanded the Ardengheschi and the Guglieschi to destroy their fortresses at Lucignano and never to restore them.¹

This treaty has been styled the Magna Carta of the Commune. And by it the position of Siena was certainly established and strengthened. Nor did the citizens fail to preserve their happy relations with the Emperor. As they had used their bishops when they were struggling for the very existence of their government against the great territorial nobles, so now they sought the favour of the temporal head of Christendom in order that they might maintain and increase the liberties that they had won. They did not scruple to swear fealty in turn to rival emperors, changing from one side to the other when it appeared to be to their advantage to do so. In 1208 we find them pledging themselves to the Ghibelline Emperor, Philip of Swabia.² And in the following year they take the side of his opponent Otto IV., and beg him to confirm them in the possession of the territories and fortresses which "the Emperor Henry of blessed memory" had granted to them.³

The imperial legate gave them a somewhat severe reprimand, telling them that they honoured their lord with their lips but their heart was far from him, that they sought their own ends and not the glory and

¹ Muratori, *Ant. It. Med. Aevi.*, tom. iv., *Dissert.* L., col. 469-470, see Arch di Stato, Siena, *Arch. Diplomatico, Riformagioni*, ann., 1186.

² Arch. di Stato, Siena, No. 77. Dated June 3, 1208.

³ Böhmer, *Acta Imperii Selecta*, Nos. 1136 and 1137.

honour of the Emperor. However, in October of the same year, Otto himself came to Siena, and forgave the citizens all their offences against his authority. Shortly after leaving the city, he formally remitted all the sums then due to the imperial treasury. And a few weeks later he confirmed all the privileges granted to Siena by Frederick I and Henry VI, permitting the citizens, amongst other concessions, to elect their own consuls on condition that they paid seventy marks of silver every year to the imperial bailiff at S. Miniato.¹

By such means Siena was firmly established as an important fief of the Empire in the very heart of Tuscany. And though she had yet many battles to fight with the territorial aristocracy and with rival communes, her citizens had enough freedom and security to develop their commerce and to build up a powerful state.

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Arch. Diplomatico, Riformagioni*—Balzana, ann., 1209, and *Caleffo dell' Assunta*, C. 610^t, 611^t.

CHAPTER III

A NATION OF SHOPKEEPERS

WE have now arrived at that most important period of Sienese history, a period of almost continuous warfare, when the young Commune stubbornly fought for, and won, and then lost again, the supreme position in Tuscany.

The character of this conflict has been most seriously misunderstood. According to the popular view, it was a struggle between two rival cities, the one of which was intensely democratic, and sincerely convinced of the justice of the papal cause, whilst the other was feudal and aristocratic, and deeply devoted to the cause of the Emperor. No conception of the long contest between the Communes of Florence and Siena could well be more erroneous than this. To begin with, the government of Florence was never democratic in any real sense. At first ruled by an oligarchy of birth, it was afterwards dominated and governed by an oligarchy of wealth. It is true that in the heat of the struggle against the old aristocracy the rich *bourgeois*—as the *bourgeois* have so often done in history in similar circumstances—mouthed the war-cries of democracy, and sought and obtained the support of the lower classes. But when the battle had been fought and won, the deluded populace discovered—as the populace has so often done under like con-

ditions both before and since that day—that it had merely suffered a change of masters, and that the new tyrants were more exacting and more relentless than the old.

Nor after the commencement of the thirteenth century was the government of Siena, in any essential particular, more aristocratic than that of Florence. At first of much the same character as regards class representation, it ultimately became much more democratic than that of its rival. And the artisans and the lesser guilds acquired greater political power in Siena than they ever gained in Florence.

It is equally erroneous to suppose that the alliance of Florence with the papal party, or the alliance of Siena with the Emperor, was in either case much more than a *mariage de convenance*. The Sienese sought the support of the Emperor because they wanted his help against the great feudatories on the one hand, and against the Florentines on the other, these two powers being the chief human obstacles to their commercial expansion. The Florentines were anxious for the favour of the Pope because he was the most powerful opponent of the Emperor with whom they had grievously quarrelled, and whose rights they had infringed. They also realised that in financial matters, no less than in spiritual, Rome was the metropolis of the world.

The Pope, too, certainly did not ally himself with Florence, because in principle he strongly sympathised with the cause of the Communes, or because he had a disinterested desire to see a bourgeois *régime* in the chief city of Tuscany, but because he wished for the help of the sturdy young Commune in his effort

to maintain and increase his temporal power. And similarly the Emperor showered privileges on Siena, because he trusted that the grateful city would maintain his cause in Tuscany and help him generously with men and money, what time he was fighting against the Guelphs.

The fact of the matter is, that the policy of Florence, and to a still larger degree, that of Siena, was mainly inspired by commercial motives. Of the Sieneſe it is peculiarly true that, in the thirteenth century at least, they were a nation of shopkeepers, and of shopkeepers, moreover, who were mainly engaged in a traffic which in Catholic countries has always been the most despised of all, the traffic in money. For in Siena not only the middle class but the heads of the proudest of the noble houses, the representatives of historic German families, the descendants of the great feudatories of the *contado*, devoted themselves to trade. The Salimbeni and the Buonsignori who claimed descent from imperial ministers, became the rivals of the despised Hebrew in the bourses of London and Troyes. The Cacciaconti and the Squarcialupi, the knightly descendants of the great Winigis, dealt in cloth and in Eastern goods. The Tolomei, who at one time claimed to be scions of the Ptolemies of Egypt, and the Piccolomini, who boasted that their house took its origin from Porsenna of Clusium, strove to get their cent. per cent. in the marts of France and England.

In their struggles with the great feudatories, in their alliance with the Emperor, in their wars against Florence, in their ultimate desertion of the Ghibelline cause, the Sieneſe had always commercial ends in view,

which they pursued with that astuteness which the traffic in money begets.

Nor is it merely in modern times that raids have been made on behalf of chartered companies controlled by an aristocratic directorate. The brave knight of Siena who charged with lance in rest on the bloody fields of Montalto and Montaperti, was actuated no doubt by a body of fervid patriotism, and in the time of Manfred he dreamed of an Italy united under a king of her own blood, of which Siena would be one of the leading cities; but at the same time he had ever in mind the interests of his *compagnia*, and he wished to inflict a severe blow on his own commercial rivals. It is impossible, therefore, to understand the political action of Siena without possessing a knowledge of her mercantile history. Before telling, then, the story of Siena's struggle for supremacy, I propose to give some account of her commercial development.

It was in the closing years of the twelfth century that Siena, whose prosperity had been increasing for some time before then, first developed a great international trade. And it was at that time that the feudal nobles who had settled in the city, instead of continuing to spend their time in idleness, in feats of arms and in the chase, began to devote themselves to the forming and developing of great commercial companies for carrying on financial operations abroad.

There is good reason to believe that the Piccolomini company of "milites and mercatores senenses" was already in existence in 1193.¹ The *compagnia* of the

¹ F. B. Piccolomini, *Carte mercantili Piccolomini del secolo xiii.*, in the *Misc. Stor. Sen.*, vol. v., 1898, p. 69.

Buonsignori, the famous *Grande Tavola*, was founded, according to Andrea Dei, in 1209; whilst but seven years later Sienese merchants were already carrying on business at the fairs of Champagne.

The Sienese trafficked in cloth and in money. They also dealt in wax and saffron, as well as in pepper, ginger, and other goods which came to Italy from the East. But their traffic in money was by far their most important business. They were chiefly known as bankers, money-changers, and usurers. And they had banking-houses in the great cities of France, and England, and probably in Flanders.

In view of the Church's teaching, or what was then generally believed to be the Church's teaching, in regard to usury, the position which the Sienese acquired as papal bankers was of the utmost importance to them. For in their dealings with Italian financiers, as in their dealings with the Jews, both kings and nobles, bishops and abbots, showed themselves to be possessed of very accommodating consciences.

At what time, for instance, one of them stood in need of money, his conscience troubled him but little concerning the sin of usury. He went to the despised *Lombardi canes* and borrowed what he wanted, pledging himself to pay the interest demanded. But when the time for restoring the sum arrived, then his conscience became abnormally sensitive. He suddenly awoke to the conviction that lending money on interest was a damnable sin. He determined forthwith to have nothing more to do with Jews and Italians, and to purge himself of all complicity in their vile trade. And finally he would declare that usury, being forbidden by the Church, he could not

conscientiously pay back a single *soldo* of what he had borrowed.

On such occasions it was lucky for the Sienese banker if he had the papal authority at his back, and if he could buy¹ from the Holy Father a letter threatening his creditor with dire ecclesiastical penalties should he persist in refusing payment of his just debts.

In the third decade of the thirteenth century, the commerce of Siena developed rapidly; and it was just at that time that some of her merchants had the good fortune to become bankers to the Curia. For a period of nearly thirty years the greater part of the banking business of the Church was entrusted to the Sienese. It was the patronage of the Holy See, more than anything else, that gave Siena a commanding position in the world of finance.

A relic of this connection may still be seen in the city. In the winding Via del Re, opposite to an old palace of the Tolomei, now the Albergo Toscana, is a house upon which still remains an inscription² of the thirteenth century, relating that it was built in 1234, by "Angelieri," banker to Pope Gregory IX. And we know from other sources that Angiolieri—who was, indeed, the grandfather of Cecco Angiolieri, the poet—was employed as banker and collector by the Pope both before and after the date of this inscription.

Nor were the Sienese merchants on good terms with the Curia alone; they also took great trouble to

¹ Paoli e Piccolomini, *Lettere volgari del sec. xiii.*, p. 17, also p. 124. In the private archives of the Tolomei family there are several of these letters.

² The inscription runs thus: "Hanc domum cepit hedificare Angelerius Solafiche quando erat campsor domini pp: Gregorii VIII. in A.D. MCCXXXIIIIL."

preserve the friendship of the citizens of Rome. The Commune of Siena promptly gave compensation for any loss that Roman merchants suffered in their territory in time of war, or from marauders. Nay! it went so far as to compensate fully certain Roman citizens, heads of trading companies, whose goods had been seized at sea by the captain of the galleys of their lord the Emperor,¹ so anxious were its rulers to avoid giving cause for offence to the Roman Commune. And in this they were wise. For thus they helped to secure proper protection for their own important trading houses in Rome.

Next to Rome, Champagne was then the most important financial centre in Western Europe. The fairs of Champagne, in fact, are one of the most extraordinary economic phenomena of the Middle Ages. At these fairs met merchants from all parts of Christendom. And immense financial operations were regularly carried on at them. There were six fairs in each year, one of which was held at Lagny, one at Bar, two at Provins, and two at Troyes. Each single fair lasted altogether for a period of nearly two months, and the complete cycle of fairs occupied almost the whole year.²

¹ See *Documenti dei secoli*, xiii. e xiv., riguardanti il Comune di Roma, conservati nel R. Arch. di Stato in Siena; published in the *Misc. Stor. Sen.*, vol iii., 1895, pp. 146-151.

² For the fairs of Champagne, read F. Bourquelot, *Etudes sur les foires de Champagne*, etc., in *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions*, etc., Second Series, tom. v., Paris, 1865. For the share of the Sienese in these fairs, read Paoli, *Siena alle Fiere di Sciampagna*, one of the *Conferenze della Comm. Sen. di Stor. Patria, Siena*, 1898; also Schaube, *Ein italienischer Coursbericht von der Messe von Troyes*, etc., in *Zeitschrift für Social und Wirthschaftsgeschichte*, Weimar, 1897, vol. v., fasc. 3; Zdekauer's pamphlet, *Documenti senesi riguardanti le Fiere di Champagne*, etc.: Siena, 1896, *Per nozze Sanesi-Crocini*; Sanesi, *Il testamento di un prestatore Senese nella Champagne (1238)*; in the *Bull. Sen. di Stor. Patria*, ann. iv., 1897, fasc. 1, pp. 115-128; also Mengozzi, *Il Monte dei Paschi di Siena*, etc., vol. i., Siena 1891, ch. 1.

A fair had three definite periods. In the first, the traders were employed in getting their merchandise properly installed. The second and principal period was occupied in the selling of goods. In the last period the bankers did a thriving business, the merchants resorting to them to borrow, to invest, or to change money.

At these fairs the Italians, and amongst them the Sienese, were very active. There the *grandi* of Siena, the proud descendants of imperial counts, gathered year by year, seeking to surpass their rivals the Florentines in the field of commerce, striving against them often with all that bitterness that the constant propinquity of ambitious rivals breeds.

The Sienese, as we learn from the letters which Andrea Tolomei wrote to his partners in Siena, did a large business in Flemish cloth. They also sold wax, saffron, and ginger, as well as pepper,¹ a very important article of trade in the Middle Ages. But here, as elsewhere, their chief traffic was in money itself. They made large sums as exchangers, in part by bills of exchange, in part by the changing of actual coin. And the honest historian who loves Siena, must add with regret that no inconsiderable part of such gains was derived from the sale of debased money, from changing bad money for good.

England was also an important centre of business for the Sienese. It has at last been demonstrated conclusively by Professor Patetta,² that the Caorsini, the

¹ Pepper and ginger were bought by the Sienese at Venice, from the shippers who brought these goods from Alexandria, and from the ports of Syria, whence they came by caravan from Damascus. Saffron was procured in various parts of Italy. It was not cultivated in England until 1582.

² Patetta, *Caorsini Senesi in Inghilterra nel sec., xiii., con documenti inediti*, in the *Bull. Sen. di Storia Patria*, anno iv., 1897, fasc. ii., iii., pp. 311-344.

papal collectors of whose doings Matthew of Paris¹ speaks in such bitter terms, were Italians, and for the most part Sienese. The term *Caorsino*, as Boccaccio explains, was a synonym for usurer. Originally derived from the town of Caorsa, that is Cahors, in Guyenne, the inhabitants of which place were much addicted to usury, it came to be applied to all Christian usurers. Subsequently—inasmuch as the Christian usurers were, for the most part, Italians—it was synonymous with the term *Lombardus*. Matthew of Paris himself calls the Caorsini *Ultramontani* and *Transalpini*; and in other places he uses both these words as synonyms of *Italiani*. Moreover, with him the verb *transalpinare* signified to go into Italy.

Again it is precisely at the same time that we hear of the Caorsini's first arrival in our own country, that we find Sienese bankers first acting as papal collectors there. And it is also at that time that the English *sterlino* makes its earliest appearance in Sienese documents.²

It was, according to Matthew of Paris, in the year 1229, that the Caorsini came to England with Master Stephen, chaplain and nuncio of Pope Gregory IX, who had been entrusted with the exaction of the papal tenth on the occasion of the war against Frederick II. And we learn from a papal receipt of 1233 that, previous to that year, Angiolieri Solafica of Siena and his company had acted as the Pope's bankers, and had

Professor Patetta deals fully with the arguments and theories of Huillard-Bréholles, Pitou, Blaize, Lacabane, Bourquelot, and Goldschmidt.

¹ Matthew of Paris styles them "*Caursini præcipue senonensibus*." See Luard's edition in the *Master of the Rolls' Series*, London, 1872, vol. iv. p. 8. It is now clear that *Senonensibus* is a clerical error for *Senensibus*.

² Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Arch. generale*, 1228, 26th June and 30th October; also 1229, 6th March.

been employed as papal collectors in France and England.

But the most conclusive piece of evidence in favour of the contention that under the term Caorsini, Sienese bankers were included, is to be found in a document now in the Archives at Turin.¹ This document is a thirteenth-century copy of a form of contract between a monastery in the diocese of Lincoln and Alexander Salimbeni, banker of Siena, and son of the famous Salimbene Salimbeni. It is preceded by the heading "Oligacio caware (inorum)," "Bond of the Caorsini." And though it is not quite complete, it is, as far as it goes, identical with the *forma Caursinorum obligandi debitores* given by Matthew of Paris, a form so stringent, he says, that the debtor who signed it was bound as by chains of iron, from which, do what he might, he could not possibly get free.

By such arguments, Professor Patetta has proved that the Caorsini were Italians, and for the most part Sienese. And from other sources than Matthew of Paris' chronicle, we know that the companies of the Tolomei, the Buonsignori and the Cacciaconti, as well as that of the Salimbeni, had representatives in England.

In vain did the Bishop of London endeavour to keep the Caorsini out of his diocese. They had the support of the Curia, and all his well-meant efforts were unavailing. The Italian bankers occupied imposing palaces in the city, and prospered greatly.

They were, of course, cordially hated by their rivals the Jews, who were, naturally, jealous of their privileges. And the nobles and clergy hated them

¹ Arch. di Stato, Turin, D. iii. 21. See No. DCCXXXVII in Pasini's catalogue.

even more than the Hebrews, because, being Christians, and living, moreover, under papal protection, it was not easy to rob or overawe them. Did any priest or baron allege the Church's prohibition of usury as a reason for refusing to pay the sum that he had borrowed, or the interest upon that sum, he ran the risk of incurring severe penalties at the hands of the head of that Church whose principles he was professing to follow. These *Lombardi canes*, therefore, were abhorred both by Jews and Christians. But as long as the Pope protected them, they could afford to smile contemptuously at the wrath of their enemies. And so they did. These gentlemen of Siena, we are told, did not fail to carry themselves with a very high air.¹

Matthew of Paris but gave expression to the popular view of them when he denounced in the severest terms both the Caorsini and their patron the Pope. As he saw the Italian bankers amassing large sums of good English money and bearing them away over the sea, his blood boiled within him, and he burst out into objurgations against these *aemuli Judaeorum* who crucified Christ again in his people, and against their patron the Pope. He charges them, moreover, with all kinds of dishonest and extortionate practices as well as with personal immorality.

In view of Matthew of Paris' strong convictions upon the subject of usury, and his hatred of the Curia, it is but reasonable to conclude that the picture he gives of the Italians is not a just one. It was only enough to be a banker to win the cordial dislike of the chronicler; and a papal banker it was impossible for him to treat with fairness. His whole account of the

¹ Matthew of Paris, *ed. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 332.

Caorsini bears evidence of the violence of his prejudices.

In 1240, Henry III, taking advantage of their unpopularity, issued an edict of expulsion against the Caorsini. Like other rulers before and after him, he endeavoured to make it appear that he had suddenly acquired a great hatred of the sin of usury, and he had determined to purge his kingdom of it. The matter, however, was settled by the wealthier bankers in the usual way. They gave the king substantial sums of money, which acted as a wonderful salve to his injured conscience.

The great Sienese houses then continued to do business in England after 1240. The rate of interest was higher in our own country than it was in France. And England, therefore, was regarded as an excellent field for speculation. It was not, in fact, until after the battle of Montaperti, when a papal excommunication made them a prey to their enemies, that the Sienese houses in London were closed.

The courage, persistency, and forethought of the Sienese merchants, compel our respect. And respect warms to admiration as we begin to realise the dangers and difficulties that they had to face. We see the slow-moving caravans of their commercial companies, laden with the products of Italy and the East, travelling by insecure ways, over high Alpine passes, through valleys where brigands, more cruel than Nature, lurked, and by strongholds where great lords, greedy and relentless as brigands, exacted heavy tolls as the price of safe passage through their lands.

We see them, as portrayed in their own letters to parents and partners, offering a present of oranges to

this countess, and a pair of shoes to that official, in order to win their good offices. We see these same merchant-nobles of old Siena, these swarthy knights who bore their standard to victory on the blood-stained banks of the Arbia, dealing in wax and pepper, negotiating bills of exchange, and selling good coin and bad coin in the markets of Troyes and Provins, of Paris and London. And then we see them on their way homewards, laden with good silver, and bringing with them in their caravans piled-up bales of cloth of Flanders. And lastly we watch the slow-moving cavalcade enter the Camollia Gate, and wind up the narrow streets of Siena, until it comes to a halt in front of some Gothic palace, where husbands, and sons, and lovers meet the women who had watched and waited for them through long weary months—women who, on lonely nights, when the wind raged around the hill-set city, as well as in days of depression when they called to mind horrid rumours of distant deeds of violence, had shuddered at the thought of the perils by which their lords were surrounded—perils by land and sea,¹ perils of robbers, yes! and perils of their own countrymen.

Who shall say that these *grandi* of Siena *milites et mercatores*, who, in the thirteenth century, endured so much for their families, their companies, their city, were not more useful members of society than the barons of England and France, who, for the most part, spent their time in hawking and hunting and

¹ In the Venetian archives we find the story of the murder on the high seas of one of these Italian merchants, who took ship at Boston to return home by way of Flanders. The sailors, who were English, slew him and stole his goods. See *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, vol. i., 1202-1509; London, 1864, pp. 3, 4.

in feats of arms? Well would it have been for Siena had her nobles continued in the same activities, adding to the wealth of their city, and endowing her institutions with some of the fruits of their toil and enterprise, instead of acquiring that foolish contempt of trade which came to them in a later age, when endless *vendette* and faction fights absorbed the whole of their exuberant energy.

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUGGLE WITH THE FEUDAL NOBLES

THE Sienese, then, were, as I have said, a nation of shopkeepers, and consequently their foreign policy was inspired by commercial aims. They wished to obtain immunity from plunder for their merchants traversing the great roads north and south, to Rome, to Pisa, and to Grosseto. They sought, also, to free their trade from the heavy burden imposed upon it by the excessive tolls exacted by neighbouring cities and by the great feudal lords.

To obtain these two great objects it became necessary for the Commune to subdue the powerful territorial nobles whose castles girdled her *contado*, and also to make subject to her rule Montepulciano, Montalcino, and Grosseto.

The great feudatories, as well as the cities I have just mentioned, offered, of course, strong opposition to the policy of Siena. But neither the cities nor the feudatories would have been so persistent in their resistance to her had they not been continually incited, encouraged, and aided, by her jealous rival Florence. In the long contest between Florence and Siena, Florence was always the aggressor. Certainly the Sienese did not love the Florentines, but hostility to

Florence was not one of the primary motives of their policy. It was, on the other hand, the continual aim of the Florentines to place obstacles in the way of the further development of the trade of Siena, and to oust her merchants from the powerful position that they held in the world's great marts, and especially in Rome. The Florentines, therefore, sought to obtain direct or indirect control of the great Via Francigena, both at the north and at the south of that portion of it which passed through Sienese territory: they endeavoured to hold the key of the road from Siena to the valley of the Chiana; and at one time they even essayed, with the help of the Aldobrandeschi, to obtain command of the ports of the Tuscan Maremma. At the same time, in spite of their professedly democratic principles, they were jealous supporters of the privileges of petty tyrants like the Aldobrandeschi, the Ardeneschi, and the Visconti of Campiglia, and they sought continually to baulk the efforts of the Sienese to break the feudal chain by which they were encircled.

It is those efforts on the part of the Sienese that I propose to give some account of before telling the story of the wars between Florence and Siena. I propose to show in this chapter how Siena finally triumphed over the malign power of these feudal lords, so inimical to her commercial interests, which had been crippled but not destroyed in the days of episcopal rule.

That Siena suffered more than any of her neighbours from the lawlessness of the territorial nobles, was due to her geographical position. To the south of her territory was a wild mountain region, much more thickly wooded than it is to-day. To the west and south-west

stretched the Maremma—malarious, savage, solitary. In all these wide tracts of country we find no broad, rich plains adapted to the habitation of a large industrial population. And so it happened that feudalism, which soon passed away from the Lombard plain and from the wide fertile valley of the Arno, long lingered on the southern and western borders of the Sieneze *contado*. On the rugged slopes of Monte Amiata, in the narrow valleys of the Merse and the Ombrone, and in the desolate and ruined cities of the malarious Tuscal littoral, feudalism found a congenial home. Here the nobles were not checked and menaced by a rising middle class. Here was only a peasantry too abject to offer resistance to inhuman feudal customs. Here were deer and wild boar to hunt. And in these tortuous valleys, horse-thieves and marauders of gentle birth could find a safe retreat after their raids in neighbouring territories. Here, moreover, was just that kind of country which, as we English have learnt to our cost, is so difficult to conquer when defended by a courageous, mobile foe, accustomed to live in the open air, who know every inch of the districts in which they are fighting, and who bring to warfare the quick instincts and the trained eye of the practised hunter. Had not the Church used her peculiar powers in opposition to the tyranny of the great feudatories, the young Commune might have perished in its infancy. And even after their power for evil had been curtailed by the Bishop, the great nobles might yet have triumphed had they only been able to agree amongst themselves.

The Sieneze realised to the full the dangers and difficulties of their position; and in all their long

contest with the feudal nobility they acted with marvellous self-restraint, persistency, and astuteness. It is impossible, in fact, to praise too highly the political action of the Sienese in the twelfth century, and in the thirteenth century, up to the day of Montaperti; just as it would be difficult to condemn it too strongly in the ages that followed. With what infinite patience did they combat their restless foes! How tirelessly intent they were to see and to seize upon every opportunity to extend their power; content to accept a piazza in this signioral town, to buy a piece of territory from that lord who was in need of money, to exact a concession in regard to tolls from that count who wished for their military support and assistance; never pursuing their advantage too far, suffering injury and loss sometimes in silence, and biding their time until a good occasion presented itself for punishing the evil-doer; first using the Bishop as an instrument to effect their ends, afterwards the Emperor; then, Ghibelline though they professed to be, allying with a Guelph city to cripple the power of their most formidable feudal neighbours, the proud counts of Santa Fiora. In the *Caleffo Vecchio* and the *Caleffo dell'Assunta*, priceless records of Sienese policy which have survived to our own day, we can still read in detail the unadorned story of the Commune's wisdom and patience.

Among the nobles whose power was dangerous to the expansion of Sienese trade, the Ardengeschi were amongst the most important. Their original boundary came to within a few miles of the city, and their lawless followers rendered insecure the south-western borders of her territory. Moreover their strongholds commanded

the road which led through the valley of the Merse to Grosseto and the ports of the Maremma ; and they were accustomed to exact grievous tolls of the merchants who passed along it. In the twelfth century, therefore, the young Commune set to work to curb the power of the Ardengeschi. The citizens won their first modest success in 1156, when by the aid of their lord the Bishop, they constrained that family to sell the strongly-situated fortress of Orgia. Two years later they obtained from the Emperor an injunction forbidding any of the feudal lords to repair or build any castle within twelve miles of the city—an injunction specially aimed at the Ardengeschi. And in 1179 they had grown strong enough to compel these powerful counts to swear fealty to Siena, and to pledge themselves not to erect any castle or fortress in the valleys of the Merse and the Ombrone without the consent of the Commune.

The Ardengeschi broke faith, and early in the following century they were at open war with Siena. But they were soon compelled to sue for peace, and to accept severer terms than had been imposed upon them before. Even after this humiliation, all trouble with them was not at an end. But from henceforth they fared little better than ordinary criminals at the hands of the civic magistrates. The sentences imposed on them increased in severity, until at last a certain *potestà* of Siena, “the noble Messer Barone dei Mangiadri,” declared that if he caught any one of those who had been guilty of robbery or outrage, either he would compel him to pay a ruinous fine, or he would cause him to be chained up like a mastiff for several hours in the public piazza, then scourged through the city, and finally

banished from Sienese territory. The rod of the burgher on the back of the noble !¹

Near neighbours of the Ardengeschi, who also impeded the Commune's free access to the Tuscan littoral, were the Pannochieschi. A turbulent restless race, not the least notorious of them was "the magnificent knight" Nello, thief, marauder, murderer, the fabled² husband of that Pia whom the great Florentine met, amongst others "who by violence had died," on the steep ascent of Purgatory.

"Ricorditi di me, che son la Pia :
Siena mi fè, disfecemi Maremma :
Sàlsi colui che inannellata, pria
Disposata, m'avea con la sua gemma."³

The Pannochieschi, like the Ardengeschi, were compelled to swear fealty to Siena. And though in that wild land which their castles dominated, they were often guilty of deeds of violence, they cherished a wholesome fear of the Commune, whose citizens perforce they were, living in Siena for a part of every year.

But by far the most powerful of all the great feudatories were the Aldobrandeschi, the lords of Santa Fiora, and many another castle. They were descended from a certain Ildeprando, who was Count of Roselle in the tenth century.⁴ Their vast territory included Monte Amiata and its surroundings, and all the district westward of it as far as the sea-coast. It comprised at one time Grosseto and Orbetello, Sovana and Pitigliano.

¹ Rondoni, *Sena Vetus*, Turin, Fratelli Bocca, p. 32.

² See Aquarone, *Dante in Siena*, Citta di Castello, 1889, pp. 71-84 ; also a letter by the late Sig. Banchi in *The Academy*, June 19, 1886.

³ Dante, *Purg.* v. 133-136.

⁴ It is disputed whether the Aldobrandeschi were of Salic or of Longobard origin. The first record of them as Counts Palatine is of the year 1163.

So numerous were their strongholds, that it was said that they were as many as the days of the year. But their central seat was at Santa Fiora. Santa Fiora! that vulture's nest on lofty Monte Amiata, which Dante regarded as the typical home of feudal oppression. In that pathetic passage in the *Purgatory* where he appeals to Cæsar to visit Italy, to chastise the lawless and to bring peace and justice to the distressed country, he cries in passionate entreaty :

“Vien ! crudel, vieni, e vedi la pressura
De' tuoi gentili, e cura lor magagne
E vedrai Santa Fior, com'è sicura.”¹

And terrible indeed was the oppression of these Counts Palatine of the Empire. Their lawless followers ravaged all the country round Amiata, keeping it in a perpetual state of alarm. Even the monasteries were not safe from them. And although the Counts themselves sometimes showed fear of ecclesiastical anathemas, there were those of their followers who feared neither God nor man. Such was that terrible Giovagnolo who, according to Fra Filippo of Siena, caused a hundred prisoners to be slain one by one by a weak old man, gloating the while over their terror and agony. Giovagnolo's end was like his life. Raising himself up in his bed, the old man cried to the terrified priest who came to shrive him, that he would never so abase himself as to approach God as a suppliant. “Well I wot,” he said, “that He would not trust in my mercy. Shall I then trust in His?” And thus blaspheming the Almighty he passed away. The Counts, nevertheless, ordered their faithful minion to be laid to rest in holy ground, in the monastery church at Santa Fiora. But Giovagnolo's

¹ Dante, *Purg.* vi., 109-111.

other lord, the Prince of the Powers of the Air, whose loyal servant he had ever been, revoked—so says the monk of Lecceto—the commands of the dead man's earthly master. In vain did the monks sprinkle abundance of holy water about the tomb. In vain did they place upon it the sacred symbol of Christ's Passion to keep away the spirits of evil. The office for the dead was scarcely finished before a fearful storm burst over the desecrated sanctuary. And for three days and three nights, above the crash of the thunder and the roaring of the gale, could be heard the shrieks of damned souls and the horrid laughter of their tormentors. The darkened church seemed to be full of devils. And ever and anon, in the lightning's glare, the terrified monks caught sight of spectral warriors, and awful nameless beasts with eyes of fire, and fiends of hideous mien. Nor did the tumult abate until the blasphemer's body was disinterred and cast forth from the sacred precincts.¹

It was, then, this cruel despotism of the Aldobrandeschi that the Sienese set themselves to subdue, their first object being to make the great roads safe and free for their commerce. They wished to stop the brigandage of the Count's followers, and to get rid of the *pedagium* and *taloneum* that the Aldobrandeschi exacted from traders passing through their territory.

The castles of these lords commanded both the great southern roads. In the Grossetano they held the key of the sea-ports of the Maremma. In the Orcia valley, and for some distance to the south of it, they controlled the Via Francigena, the great road to Rome.

¹ Fra Filippo da Siena, *Gli Assempri*, ed. by D. F. C. Carpellini, Siena, Gatti, 1864, cap. 34, pp. 114-119.

As early as the year 1151, the Sienese made a treaty with the Grossetans, which gave them free passage through their city. And half a century later they made a league with Guelph Orvieto, with the object of forcing the Aldobrandeschi to yield to their demands. This combination was successful. The Count of Santa Fiora saw there was nothing to be done but to submit with as good a grace as possible. So in 1203 he pocketed his pride, and going to Orvieto, in the presence of the people of the town he swore fealty to their Commune, undertaking not to exact tolls from her merchants. Two of the consuls of Siena were present at the ceremony; and in his oath the Aldobrandeschi expressly acknowledged the debt of honour and reverence that he owed to that city.

In 1216, Count Aldobrandino Aldobrandeschi was forced to accept yet severer terms by the Orvietans. He was compelled to convey to them all his possessions from Monte Amiata to the Albenga, and to make the Commune his heir should he die without legitimate issue.

Nor did the successes of his lord the Emperor improve much the position of the Count of Santa Fiora. For although he was confirmed in his dignity of Count Palatine of Tuscany, he could not free himself from the grip of the Communes. Having managed in the time of Ghibelline ascendancy to loose a little the cords that bound him to Guelph Orvieto, he only succeeded in falling more and more into the power of imperial Siena. And on October 2, 1221, he found himself forced to conclude a treaty with Siena, in which it was stipulated that he should exact no heavy tolls of her traders, that he should pay her an annual

tribute, that he should help her in time of war, and that he should reside in the city for at least one month in every year.¹

At the same time he found it expedient to give the Grossetans their liberty, thus, in effect, delivering them into the hands of the Sienese, who had long wished for a suitable opportunity to punish their bad faith and their insolence, and to obtain proper control over a city which commanded a great part of the Tuscan littoral.

The Sienese, therefore, determined to follow up their advantage. And they were only strengthened in their resolution when the Grossetans replied to their threats with insults and menaces. In the summer of 1224 their army took the field with the *potestà* at its head. "Never," says the chronicler,² "was seen a fairer host. Their shields, their cuirasses and their pavilions made resplendent all the country round about, so that it appeared to be another Paradise."

And so eager were the Sienese to take the city, that they would not observe the usual ritual of a mediæval siege. On arriving at Grosseto, they attempted at once to carry the place by storm; and in spite of a heroic defence on the part of its citizens, they were successful in their purpose. "By the help of God," the chronicler continues, "the *potestà* triumphed greatly, entering the city with his army, and leading captive to Siena all the men that they found therein. . . . And on their return, for joy of that victory,

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Capitoli*, Num. d'ord., 13, 14; also *Caleffo Vecchio*, c. 122^t, 125.

² Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Cron. senesi d'autore ignoto*; in the Bichi Collection of MSS. The MS. is an eighteenth-century copy of the fourteenth-century chronicle. Paoli, one of the most competent of recent Italian authorities upon questions of palaeography, had no doubt as to its genuineness, which, in fact, has never been called in question.

there was great feasting, and bonfires were lighted, and the shops were closed around the Campo."

The terms exacted by the Sienese were very severe. Amongst other conditions, it was provided that the walls and moats around the captured city were not to be repaired without the express consent of the magistrates of Siena; that no market was to be held in Grosseto or its neighbourhood on Saturday, the Sienese market-day, and that only Sienese measures were to be used in the buying and selling of oil and wine and cloth.¹

Thus did the Sienese succeed in dominating the Maremma and in making it free for their trade. But they still suffered losses from time to time at the hands of the vassals of the Aldobrandeschi, whose castles commanded the high road to Grosseto. So in 1250 they sent an army down into the Maremma, which seized all these strongholds. Then, having rendered safe the road to the coast, their forces turned round and ascended the valley of the Orcia, taking Castiglione and Selvena, and obtaining control of the Via Francigena, where it passed through the north-eastern borders of the Aldobrandeschi territory. Aldobrandino was compelled to sue for peace, and his house, though sometimes troublesome, never recovered the position it had lost.

Only once did it attempt to regain its former supremacy in the Maremma. When the Sienese were embroiled in war with Florence, Umberto Aldobrandeschi,² who, contrary to the traditions of his family, had become Guelph, because of his hatred of Ghibelline,

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Pergameno delle Riformagioni*, 1224, Sept. 27, 28, 30, and Oct. 1, 2, and 5.

² Dante, *Purg.* xi., 50-72.

Siena, thought it a good occasion to endeavour to win back some of the fortresses of Maremma. His cousin, Aldobrandino, dissociated himself from him, and entered into treaty with the Sienese. But Umberto remained obstinate in his determination to be avenged of them. He seized their ambassadors and threatened to attack his cousin's territories. He waylaid and robbed all who passed along the high road to Grosseto, and created a reign of terror in the part of the Maremma which it traversed. The Commune at last determined to rid itself of him at all costs. Andrea Dei tells us that it hired two friars to stifle him in his bed in his castle of Campagnatico.¹ But this story, Berlinghieri, the historian of the Aldobrandeschi, declines to believe. And the account given by another chronicler is more credible on the face of it, and is confirmed by documentary evidence.²

He relates that Campagnatico was surprised by a Sienese force, and taken by storm; and that, on its capture, Umberto refused to yield himself prisoner. "Before he died he slaughtered many folk; for he harnessed himself and his horse, and rode through the castle square like a dragon. Whereupon a certain man cast a boar-spear at him, which struck his charger's head, and at once the beast fell dead to the earth, because that blow had caused his brains to gush out." But still the Count fought on, until his foes "wounded him by a mass of iron upon his head, and so caused him to quit this world."

¹ Andrea Dei, *Cronica*, in Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Script.*, T. xv., c. 28.

² Arch. di Stato, Siena. The document is on view in the open cases in the Archivio. It is one of those of the *Mostra Dantesca*. See also *Omaggio al iv.*, *Congresso storico italiano della R. Accademia dei Rozzi*, Siena, Tip. dei Sordomuti, 1889.

CHAPTER V

THE STRUGGLE WITH FLORENCE

THE most powerful and persistent of Siena's foes was not the feudal aristocracy on her southern border, but the rival trading Commune of Florence. The frequent, bloody wars that were waged between the two cities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were, of course, caused in a measure by the differences that must inevitably arise between vigorous neighbouring states with definite ambitions and ill-defined boundaries. In a measure too—but in a very small measure—they owed their origin to the fact that the Florentines and the Sienese had adopted opposite views on great questions of world-politics. But by far their most potent cause was, I repeat, the keen commercial rivalry of the young republics.

Siena commanded the great roads to Rome. Sienese bankers were in special favour with the Curia, as well as with the people of the Eternal City. Strengthened by their position as papal agents, they were successful competitors of the Florentines in other centres of commerce. "Delenda est Sena," therefore, was always a popular political cry with the merchants on the banks of the Arno.

As to when this series of struggles commenced, there is a great deal of uncertainty. Tommasi tells us that the first disagreements between the two

Communes were in reference to the castle of Staggia, an important strategic position near the entrance to the Val d'Elsa, of whose picturesque remains the modern traveller catches a glimpse as he journeys by train from Poggibonsi to Siena. At any rate, the two cities were at war in 1141, and the Florentines ravaged the country to the very gates of the rival city. Four years later, if the native chroniclers are to be believed, the Sienese had their revenge, winning a victory at Montemaggio, which enabled them to extend their territory almost to Poggibonsi. Encouraged by this success, Siena persisted in her endeavour to push forward her boundaries at the entrance to the Val d'Elsa. And in 1156, she at length succeeded in gaining a foothold in Poggibonsi itself, receiving from the Count Guido Guerra an eighth part of the castle, and concluding a defensive alliance with the inhabitants of the town.

The Florentines, it is true, were anxious to possess themselves of all the Val d'Elsa. With this object they coveted Semifonte,¹ a stronghold in a commanding position near Certaldo, and sought to oust the Sienese from the position they held in Poggibonsi. But intent as they were upon obtaining control of the Via Francigena north of the Sienese territory, they were yet more eager to command it where it passed out of the *contado* of Siena to the south. The chief object of that policy was, as I have already indicated, to hold the keys of the great road to Rome, as well as of the less important highway to the Val di Chiana. They, therefore, sought to ally themselves with Montalcino and

¹ Semifonte was a place of great strategic importance, and was rapidly becoming a menace to Florence on her south-western border.

Montepulciano, and were continually stirring up hostility to Siena in these cities. With them as their faithful allies, they would be able to impose heavy burdens upon Sieneſe wares, and to ſecure free and ſafe paſſage for their own.

The Sieneſe naturally regarded Florence's policy as unjuſtifiable and iniquitous. They maintained that from ancient times Montepulciano had appertained to their territory, and their claim to it was held to be good in the imperial courts. They believed, too, that they were the rightful lords of Montalcino. Both cities were far removed from the boundaries of the territories of Florence; and they held that that Commune had no right to interfere in queſtions ariſing between them and their rebellious ſubject cities.

In 1174, Siena ſought, without ſucceſs, to capture Montepulciano. Her army was defeated by the Florentines, and after long negotiations, ſhe was forced to accept humiliating terms of peace. Not only were the Sieneſe compelled to promiſe aid to Florence in all wars ſave againſt the Emperor; they were alſo made to give up to the victors one half of their poſſeſſions in Poggibonſi.¹

Throughout the remaining years of the century, Florence continued to grow in power and influence. She received, it is true, temporary checks to her ambitious policy at the hands of Frederick Barbaroſſa and Henry VI. But the effects of imperial activity were ſhort-lived. The Hohenſtaufen were never able, for any lengthy period of time, to maintain their rights as her overlord. Nevertheless, the attempts of the Emperor, to exerciſe juriſdiction through a *potestà* of

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Caleſſo Vecchio*, c. 9^o, 12.

his own in the Florentine territory, though always ultimately unsuccessful, were a cause of annoyance and anxiety to the ambitious young Commune. And so, on the death of Henry, on September 28, 1197, the citizens determined to make an effort to prevent their recurrence.

With this object in view, they at once set on foot a league of Tuscan cities, the professed object of which was to secure to all the allies the right to rule their respective territories as tenants-in-chief of the Empire, without any interference from imperial *potestà*, marquis, or Count Palatine.

The league was successfully organised.¹ For once the Tuscan cities were united. Siena and Arezzo, Lucca and Volterra, Poggibonsi and San Miniato, agreed to the proposals of Florence, and representatives of each of the parties to the treaty were sworn in at Castelflorentino on December 4, 1197. Even the Counts Guidi and Alberti joined the new alliance. Pisa and Pistoia, it is true, held aloof, but they were not hostile to the League.

It soon became obvious that the Florentines would not be content merely to hold what they had. For a long time they had been anxious to gain possession of Semifonte in the Val d'Elsa, and they now determined to take steps to effect that end. The chief obstacle they feared was the opposition of Siena, who naturally did not view with pleasure the advance of Florence towards her northern borders. They, therefore, sought to win the assent of the Sienese to their project, by offering to permit them to take Montalcino, without

¹ Ficker, *Forschungen zur Reichs-und Rechtsgeschichte Italiens*, Innsbruck, 1868-1874, vol. iv., pp. 242-246.

interference. Appeased by this bribe, their rivals agreed to the proposal.¹ Thus Florence obtained possession of Semifonte, and Siena acquired Montalcino, taking it by storm, and casting down its walls and towers.

But the Sienese, elated by the capture of Montalcino, determined also to get possession of Montepulciano. This the Florentines could not permit. They therefore set about discovering some pretext for picking a quarrel with their new allies. The pretext that they ultimately chose was a very poor one, but it was good enough for their purpose. They laid claim to Tornano, a castle eight miles north-east of Siena. In vain did the Sienese reply that Tornano was not theirs to give, it being the property of independent lords, who were merely allies of the Commune. The Florentines prepared at once to invade their territory.

It was, however, ultimately decided to submit the differences between the two Communes in arbitration, and the arbitrator chosen was the *potestà* of Poggibonsi. By his decision, given on June 4, 1203, the Sienese were compelled to renounce all their rights in Poggibonsi, and the frontier of Florence was brought to within six miles of their city.² The award was grossly unfair. But the Sienese, nevertheless, determined to abide by it, at the same time providing for the defence of their straitened boundaries by fortifying Monteriggioni and Quercia-grossa.

Rendered insolent rather than appeased by this submission, the Florentines, whilst still professing their full adhesion to the terms of the League, secretly entered into treaty with the men of Montepulciano, persuading

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Caleffo Vecchio*, c. 29^r, dated March 29, 1201.

² Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Caleffo Vecchio*, c. 39^r, 41.

them to renew their offensive and defensive alliance against Siena.¹ The patience of the Sienese was at last exhausted; and they made an indignant protest to the Council of the League. That body assembled to hear their complaint, and, after listening to evidence from both sides, it decided that Montepulciano belonged by right to Siena. But the Florentines, although the original promoters of the League, gave not the slightest heed to this decision. The League had served their purpose. They had hoodwinked its promoters into furthering some of their most cherished schemes. And now, with cool effrontery, they did not attempt to conceal their true objects from their enraged dupes.² They had acquired Semifonte and other possessions. They did not intend, if they could prevent it, to allow the Sienese to hold either Montepulciano or Montalcino. It mattered not to them that imperial envoys had always recognised that Montepulciano was by right a part of the Sienese *contado*, or that the representatives of the other cities of Tuscany had given their award in favour of the claim of Siena. Florence, in fact, had never really forsaken her old policy.

At last, in the year 1207, the Sienese determined to attempt to secure their rights by force of arms, and to storm Montepulciano. In order to create a diversion, the Florentines marched with their *carroccio*³ into the

¹ Villari, *The Two First Centuries of Florentine History*, translated by Linda Villari, London, Fisher Unwin, 1894, vol. i., pp. 166, 167.

² Villari, *op. cit.*, pp. 159, 167. Villari's account of these proceedings is singularly fair and luminous.

³ The *carroccio*, or battle-car, was a low, heavy waggon supported by massive wheels of enormous strength. It was drawn by oxen and carried a bell. In the interior of the car, the bishop of the city, to whom the car belonged, set up his altar at what time the citizens set out for battle. In the centre of the *carroccio* rose up a very lofty pole called the *antenna*. From this floated the standard of the city. At the top of the *antenna* and im-

Berardenga, and laid siege to Montalto, a castle about twelve miles to the west of Siena. The Sienese went to meet them, and a most stubborn and sanguinary conflict resulted in a complete victory for the invading army. Terrible was the slaughter of the Sienese. Tents, banners, the *carroccio* itself—all were lost. When the news of the disaster reached Siena, many of the women of the city set out to walk to the battlefield to search for the bodies of husbands, sons, or lovers. The whole city was filled with mourning and desolation.

In the following spring the army of Florence again ravaged the *contado* of Siena. But on October 6, by the intervention of the men of Poggibonsi, terms of peace were agreed upon. Siena was forced to promise to leave Montepulciano unmolested and to renounce her possessions at Poggibonsi. On these conditions the Florentines consented to give up the fortresses and prisoners taken during the war. For fifteen years after this treaty was concluded there was peace between the rival Communes. During this period Siena strengthened her position in many ways. Several of the great feudatories were made more entirely subject to her, and she succeeded in bringing under her control the more important fortified places commanding the great roads to the south and south-west.

In 1212, the men of Montalcino were compelled to swear fealty to the Commune, and to pledge themselves

mediately above the standard was either the image of the city's patron, or a crucifix, or a figure of Christ, represented with arms outstretched, as though in the act of blessing the army. Near the *carroccio* the commander of the citizen army and his staff took their position. Around it were priests and monks praying for the success of the city arms. The *carroccio*, too, played an important part in Italian strategy and tactics. It was the rallying-point of the citizen hosts. See Lanzani, *Storia dei Comuni Italiani dalle origini al 1313*, Milan, Vallardi, 1882, lib. ii., cap. ii., p. 101.

to pay an annual tribute. In the following year the Cacciaconti and the Scialenghi were reduced to obedience, and many castles came under the control of Siena. Finally, in 1216 the Orvietans and Siennese, as we have already seen, succeeded in humbling the powerful clan of the Aldobrandeschi. All these measures had as their object to render more secure the road to Rome.

Nor did the political action of Siena fail to bring about the result aimed at. During this period her foreign trade increased enormously. Her merchants reaped large profits in Rome, in England, and in Champagne. And every year the city became more wealthy and prosperous.

Shortly after his coronation, Frederick II. confirmed the privileges of the Commune. And though he deprived the Siennese of their rights in Poggibonsi, making that town a stronghold of the Empire, like San Miniato al Tedesco, it was not his intention to weaken Siena's position, but rather to create an imperial barrier against the further advance of Florence in the Val d'Elsa. With the same end in view he encouraged the loyal cities of Tuscany to draw together, and promoted an alliance between Poggibonsi and Siena.

At Frederick's coronation in the year 1220, the Pisan and Florentine ambassadors had come to words about a lap-dog. "The devil," opines Villani, "must have been in that little cur." And, from his point of view, such a conclusion is not unreasonable. For, according to the Florentine chronicler, it was out of this miserable quarrel that a war developed, which dragged on for several years.¹ Siena was at one time involved in it,

¹ Arias has shown that the true cause of the war was the commercial rivalry of the two states. "The ill-feeling between the rival states," says

but after the first strenuous campaign she seems to have withdrawn her forces. Her statesmen realised, in fact, that now that the forces of Florence were fully occupied elsewhere, the best thing they could do was to endeavour to carry out some of their long-cherished political projects. And it was at that time that they succeeded in capturing Grosseto, and in making their control more effective in the valleys of the Merse and Ombrone.¹

Emboldened by this success they determined in the spring of 1228 to bring Montepulciano also under their rule. But they chose an inauspicious time for the attempt. To the most peace-loving of Popes had just succeeded Gregory IX, a pontiff old in years, but young in strength, in fervour, and in a masterful, almost Quixotic contempt of compromise. At first the new Pope was friendly with the Emperor; but such concord could not in any case have lasted long. And when in the autumn of 1227 Frederick turned back from the Crusade upon which he had set out, the inevitable struggle began. Henceforth the aim of the Papacy was to destroy utterly the power of the Hohenstaufen, an aim which it pursued with unfailing persistency.

Gregory's true object became apparent, when in the following year Frederick actually did set forth on a crusade. The Emperor had been anathematised for not going to Jerusalem. He was now anathematised for going. The militant Pope preached a crusade against a prince who had just set forth under the standard of the Cross to war against the infidel. The papal crusaders

Villari, "rendered any trifle a sufficient pretext for bloodshed." See Arias, *I Trattati Commerciali della Repubblica Fiorentina*, vol. i., Florence, 1901, pp. 31, 32; also Villari, *op. cit.*, vol. i., 177.

¹ See p. 51.

fighting under the banner of the keys joined battle with the temporal vice-regent of Christendom. Old party cries re-echoed again on every hand. All Italy was soon in a ferment.

Whilst these events were in progress, the Sienese continued to pursue their projects in regard to Montepulciano. In the spring of 1228, they made an alliance with the exiled Ghibellines of that city, and three months later they sought the assistance of the Orvietans, sending an embassy to them to remind them of the league that had existed between them since the year 1221.¹ The Orvietans gave the ambassadors fair words, saying that they were quite prepared to adhere to the terms of their old alliance. But, in fact, they were merely dissembling to gain time. They had arrived already at a secret understanding with Florence and Montepulciano, and the envoys of Siena had scarcely left the city before the compact between the Orvietans and the men of Montepulciano was signed.

War was immediately declared. And in the campaign of 1228 fortune favoured the Sienese arms. But in the course of the winter, internal dissensions broke out amongst the citizens, and they were also weakened by the defection of Count Aldobrandino Aldobrandeschi, who had been their ally at the commencement of the struggle. The result was, that in the following spring they offered but a feeble resistance to the invading army. The Florentines destroyed more than twenty Sienese fortresses, and ravaged the *contado* up to the walls of the city.² Even then their victorious advance

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Caleffo Vecchio*, c. 145^b, 147.

² *Cronica Fiorentina*, a chronicle of the thirteenth century published in Villari's *The Two First Centuries of Florentine History*, vol. ii., p. 50.

was not checked. Bursting through the Porta Camollia, they penetrated into the town as far as S. Pietro alla Magione.

At last, the common, imminent danger of utter destruction made one the divided people of Siena. Her factious inhabitants forgot their internecine quarrels, and united to expel the besiegers. Even the women took up arms to defend their hearths and their persons from outrage. The Florentines were driven back. "But they succeeded," says the chronicler, "in bearing off with them to Florence many fair women of gentle birth, and forced them to become the mistresses of their captors."

In the meantime, whilst Siena was suffering such severe strokes of adversity, her lord the Emperor had been experiencing good fortune in the south of Italy. And in his hour of success he did not forget his loyal Tuscans. He sent his legate, Gerald of Arnstein, to command Montepulciano to recognise the just claims of Siena. But the men of Montepulciano proved contumacious. Encouraged by the Florentines, they refused to obey the imperial order, even after they had been put under the ban of the Empire. Then the Emperor forbade the Florentines to attack the Sienese; but this injunction also was unheeded. In vain did Frederick condemn the Florentines to pay heavy fines to the imperial treasury, and a large indemnity to Siena. He was unable to put into effect his threats, and they knew it. Ultimately, the Sienese came to realise that they must depend on their own unaided efforts.

Again a united people, they carried on a very successful campaign in the year 1232. On the festival of St Simon and St Jude they had attained, at length,

the object for which they had been fighting, by capturing Montepulciano. They followed up their victory by laying waste the territory of Orvieto. And only the coming of winter put an end to their good fortune.

Siena was now willing to accept honourable terms of peace. And the Pope and the Emperor, who had become reconciled at S. Germano in 1230, joined in an effort to restore tranquillity to distressed Tuscany. Guelphs though the Florentines were, the Pope agreed with Frederick that Montepulciano and Montalcino belonged by right to the Sienese, and that the action of Florence was altogether unjustifiable. Nor was he content with mere protests. When Orvieto and Arezzo, prompted by Florence, refused to discontinue hostilities, Gregory excommunicated the three Guelph cities. But the papal anathema, like the imperial ban, fell upon heedless ears. The Florentines were Guelphs not to advance the Pope's cause, but to further their own. They had allied themselves with Christ's vicar for the sake of gain, but they were not allowed to keep the bag. The Ghibelline Sienese still had a larger share than they in the management of the financial affairs of the Curia. They were bent upon continuing the war until they had humiliated and crippled their commercial rivals, until Siena consented to accept such terms of peace as would place the keys of the great Roman highway, as well as of the road to the Chiana valley, in the hands of the Florentines and their allies.

To effect this end they were prepared to use any means. Democratic as they professed to be, the burghers allied with the cruellest of the feudal tyrants on the borders of the Sienese territory, with Umberto

Aldobrandeschi and Pepone Visconti of Campiglia. They stirred up the Montalcinesi to revolt against Siena, and towards the end of 1233 they succeeded in inducing them to break a solemn compact which they had made with her citizens but a few months previously. For three successive years they ravaged the hostile *contado*,¹ destroying the crops, burning the houses and killing the peasantry. Thus they turned the fair country round the city into a hideous desert.

The Sienese, however, gained one brilliant success before that Famine, and her cruel daughter Pestilence, faithful allies of the Florentines, brought them low. In 1234 they took Campiglia. "The said Campiglia," says the chronicler,² "was sacked, destroyed and burned, because its defenders refused to surrender. And they all met with an evil fate, save the women, who were sent to Siena, and no villany was done to them. And many of them remained widows because their lords were slain in this affray. But those women who had husbands amongst the prisoners were, for pity's sake, restored to them, in that they had no means of paying a ransom. . . . And they were all led, bound with one rope, to our Duomo. And there, for the love of the Virgin Mary, who had given the Sienese so great a victory, they were released before the high altar."³

But the rejoicing over this success was of short duration. Siena's territory was again wasted by the Florentines, who destroyed forty towns and villages, cut down all the wheat, and destroyed the vines, re-

¹ *Cronica Fiorentina*, ed. cit., p. 51.

² *Croniche Senesi*, a MS. Chronicle of the fourteenth century, by an unknown author, preserved in the Arch. di Stato, Siena.

³ This contrasts well with the action of the Florentines in the first battle of Camollia, in 1229.

turning to Florence, after two months of guerilla warfare, laden with booty, and followed by a great train of prisoners.

A harvestless autumn was followed by a severe winter. Famine and pestilence claimed hundreds of victims. Flocks of wolves came down from the mountains and made ravages in the almost deserted country districts. Even the light-hearted Sienese became gloomy and despondent, with death busy all around them. "At wedding feasts," says Tommasi, "they were compelled to drink water, a thing which robbed them of all their cheerfulness!"

At last the citizens were brought to such an abject condition that they were anxious for peace at any price. And, first of all, by the agency of a friar minor, and afterwards by the intervention of the Cardinal of Preneste, terms were agreed upon.¹ Siena had to renounce the lordship of Montepulciano, and to restore to Orvieto all that she had taken during the war. Chianciano, an important stronghold on the road to the Val di Chiana, was to be given up to the house of the Manenti. The league between Poggibonsi and Siena was dissolved, and the Sienese were again compelled to resign all their rights in that town.²

The tide of Siena's fortune had reached its lowest ebb: it was now to flow again. After the great peace of 1235, there began for the citizens another period of commercial progress. And then it was that the burghers and artisans, becoming prosperous, demanded a share in the government. Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked. But the consequent political strife does not

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Caleffo Vecchio*, c. 199, 200, 201, 201^b.

² Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Caleffo Vecchio* c. 203, 203^b.

seem to have been long or severe. Some of the old aristocracy, like Aldobrandino di Guido Cacciaconti, sided with their brother traders, and the popular party soon gained the victory. A reform of the constitution was accomplished, by which the people acquired new power in the State. Between the years 1233 and 1240, a Council composed of twenty-four citizens, half of the members of which were nobles and half *popolani*, established itself as the chief magistracy of the city.¹ Under this government, Siena was destined to attain to her highest point of greatness. With leaders like Provenzano Salvani and Buonaguida Lucari, she was to make her name honoured and feared throughout Italy. And with the fall of the *Ventiquattro* her long period of decadence was to commence.

Two years after the signing of the Great Peace, Frederick defeated the Guelph cities of the north on the bloody field of Cortenuova. He sent the captured *carroccio* of Milan as a present to his ally, the senate of Rome. On its way, it passed through Siena. To the Ghibellines of Tuscany, it came as the dove to the dwellers in the Ark, bearing with it presages of future deliverance. They saw in it a sign that the flood of Guelphism which had overspread the land was about to abate.

In January, 1240, the Emperor himself visited Siena. His coming caused great enthusiasm amongst her Ghibelline citizens, an enthusiasm, however, which cooled somewhat, when, as the time wore on, he became exacting in his demands for men and money, and also

¹ Paoli, *I "monti" o fazioni nella Reppubblica di Siena*; in the *Nuova Antologia*, August, 1891, fasc. xv., pp. 404, 405.

sought to diminish some of their most cherished privileges. "We have no horses," they replied to one of his frequent appeals for military assistance—"we have no horses, and we are not able to assist a friendly city honourably."

On one occasion, their leader Provenzano Salvani spoke words which found an echo in every burgher's breast. He advised them not to ruin themselves for the sake of the Emperor, but to see that they made the alliance with him turn to their own advantage. The Ghibellinism of the Sieneese went perhaps a little deeper than the Guelphism of the Florentines. But both alike always put first their own commercial interests.

The Sieneese were especially anxious to maintain their jurisdiction over their *contado* free from restrictions and limitations of all kinds, and they protested vigorously against an attempt that Frederick made to place over their territory a *potestà* of his own choice. Nor would they consent to a revival of the right of the Counts Palatine, the Aldobrandeschi, to exact tolls from their merchants.

The Ghibelline cause continued to prosper in Tuscany, in spite of papal anathemas. From Florence itself the Guelph nobles were expelled. Many of the *fuorusciti* fell into the hands of Frederick, who blinded some, and caused some to be sewn up in sacks and drowned. "This sort of thing," says Marchionne di Coppo Stefani, "is the reward of partisanship."¹

But December 19, 1250, the Emperor died, and the whole position of affairs was changed. The Guelph exiles returned to Florence, and at once set to work

¹ Marchionne di Coppo Stefani, Bk. ii. Rubr. 86. See Fr. Ildefonso's *Delizie degli Toscani*, Florence, 1776, tom. vii., pp. 96, 97.

to adopt measures to check the growth of Sienese trade, and to promote the expansion of their own. They again strove strenuously to obtain for their State that free access to the sea which for two centuries had been one of the chief objects of Florentine policy. They also sought to re-establish indirect control over the country to the south of Siena. Finally they hit upon a scheme which would enable them, as they thought, to secure both of these objects at one stroke. The Commune entered into a treaty with Count Guglielmo, the Guelph member of the house of the Aldobrandeschi, which gave its citizens free passage through his dominions to Talamone and to Portorcole.¹ In this way it hoped to be able to get rid of the heavy burden Pisa imposed on Florentine commerce by means of her excessive tolls.

The Count Aldobrandino Aldobrandeschi, the head of the chief branch of his family, dissociated himself from his cousin's action, and renewed his oath of fealty to Siena. But, nevertheless, the position of affairs was very serious for the Sienese. Orvieto had already obtained the suzerainty over the Albenga, and if Florence were to get possession of these ports, soon Grosseto and the whole of the Tuscan Maremma would be lost to them.

But the menaced Commune had not to look far for allies. The Pisans believed that it would be contrary to their interests were the stream of trade to be diverted in this way from the upper valley of the Arno. They therefore entered into a league with Siena, which Pistoia and Arezzo also joined. Nor was Florence without assistance in the struggle. Pisa's

¹ See Fumi, *Trattato fra il comune di Firenze e i conti Aldobrandeschi*, etc., in the *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, serie iii., vol. 23, pp. 218-222.

maritime rival, Genoa, as well as Lucca and Orvieto, took her side.

In the autumn of 1251 the war began. It proved most disastrous to the Ghibelline cities. The Sienese forces suffered a series of crushing defeats, and after more than two years of almost continuous fighting they were compelled to sue for peace. But, by a curious turn of fortune, it fell out that Siena, though well beaten, gained after all the end for which she had been striving. With the submission of Pisa, the Florentines opened for themselves the road to the sea through the valley of the Arno; and so they ceased to be enthusiastic about the project of utilizing for their commerce the more distant ports of the Maremma, and in time they dropped it altogether.

There was now a short breathing space before the most momentous bout of the long duel commenced. After a hundred years of frequent military conflicts, in which Siena had almost always been the loser, she could congratulate herself upon the fact that she had not altogether missed the attainment of the chief objects of her policy. She had failed, it is true, to obtain possession of Montalcino and Montepulciano; but she had brought Grosseto under her rule, and had enormously reduced the power of the great territorial nobles. She had made the road to the Tuscan Maremma free for her traffic, and had increased her control over the Via Francigena. She had developed a great foreign trade; and, in spite of her Ghibellinism, her sons were bankers to the Roman Curia. She had won her own freedom, and her constitutional development hitherto had been on the right lines. She was soon to reach the apex of her fortunes.

CHAPTER VI

GHIBELLINE SIENA

IT was in the month of June 1254 that peace was concluded between Florence and Siena. Conrad, Frederick II.'s only legitimate heir, had just died in the prime of his youth, a victim to the climate of southern Italy, leaving the Pope as guardian of his infant child, Conradin. Fortune seemed to shine upon the Guelph party. Only one little cloud no bigger than a man's hand could be seen upon the horizon. It did not seem possible that any great storm could be about to rise to cause damage to the ship of St Peter.

But in a few months all was changed. Manfred, Frederick's natural son, who, in September, had consented to become a vassal of the church, and had led his new lord the Pope, the deadly enemy of his race, into the dominions of his forefathers, suddenly determined to break his gilded chains.

Innocent had scarcely established himself at Naples before the news reached him that the young prince was in revolt. Suddenly leaving the castle of Acerra, Manfred rode through the mountains to Lucera. On arriving there, he gathered his faithful Moslems around him, and with their aid he won back Apulia by a brilliant series of successes.

In the midst of these events, Innocent the worldly,

the astute, the unscrupulous, died. His successor, a corpulent old gentleman, pious, jocular, good-natured, but without any strength of character, was incompetent to lead a great party at such a crisis.

The Florentines were acute enough to grasp the situation. They had got most of what they wanted. Their rivals had been humiliated, and had been compelled, in two successive treaties, to accept very disadvantageous terms. They saw clearly that, did they strive to gain more, they might unite reviving Ghibellinism in a league against themselves, and so run the risk of losing what they had won. They thought it a wiser policy at such a juncture, to agree with their adversaries quickly while they were in the way with them. They, therefore, adopted a most conciliatory attitude towards Siena, and sought to make an alliance with that city. They were convinced that Florence could not possibly lose by such a compact. It would at least give them time to prepare themselves for the great final struggle with Ghibellinism which, they believed, must some day be waged.

The Sieneſe ſhewed themſelves favourable to the propoſed alliance. And on July 31, 1255, their ambassadors, Provenzano Salvani and Berlinghieri di Aldobrandino, met the Florentine envoys at San Donato-in-Poggio. In the pariſh church of that place, the representatives of the two Communes ſwore eternal peace and amity. It was provided by the treaty that Siena ſhould not receive any one who by reaſon of ill-doing, or for ſedition or conſpiracy, had been baniſhed from the Commune of Florence, or from Montepulciano, or Montalcino; or any perſon who was an enemy of thoſe cities. And in their turn the Florentines promiſed on

their own behalf, and also on behalf of the men of Montalcino and Montepulciano, not to harbour any one who had rebelled against, or was hostile to the Commune of Siena.¹

But whilst the treaty was thus solemnly sworn to, the Sienese were not a whit more sincere than the Florentines in their protestations of amity. Neither party, in fact, intended to keep its vows.

Exactly four years before, Siena had entered into a compact with the Florentine Ghibellines, promising to help them should they rise against the dominant party in their own city, and to receive any of them that should be exiled by its rulers.² This secret agreement remained in force notwithstanding the treaty of July 1255. And so it happened that when, three years afterwards, many Ghibellines were exiled from Florence, they immediately sought and found a refuge in Siena.

The Florentines sent ambassadors to protest against this infringement of the treaty, and to demand an explanation. But they merely received a quibbling, unsatisfactory reply from the Twenty-four. Both Communes forthwith began to hurry on preparations for war.

And war was what each of them now desired. The Florentines, rendered confident by an almost unbroken series of victories, and having spent two or three years in preparing for a conflict that they deemed inevitable, were anxious to reduce finally to a subordinate position their one dangerous rival in Tuscany, and to destroy once for all her hopes of commercial supremacy.

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Perg. delle Riformagioni*, 1255, July 31 ; and *Caleffo Vecchio*, c. 335, 336^t.

² Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Caleffo Vecchio*, c. 313^t, 314^t, 321, 321^t.

The Ghibellines of Siena cherished, and were eager to further, nobler, vaster aspirations than they had ever known before. Manfred had just been crowned king in Sicily. They had at last a sovereign of their own race, a prince who was an Italian in blood and in education, and who possessed all the qualities likely to endear him to a chivalrous people. Beautiful of person and brilliant of intellect, brave, magnanimous, sympathetic, a warrior and a strategist, a poet and a musician, he seemed to be an ideal sovereign for the Italians. Captivated and inspired by so attractive a personality, the men of Siena began to dream dreams. They saw their city under his rule becoming the capital of a Ghibelline Tuscany, and one of the chief commercial centres of Christendom. With Manfred as king, they would gain absolute control of Montepulciano and Montalcino, they would reduce to order the whole of the Maremma. Their territory would extend from Poggibonsi to Chiusi, from Cecina to Pitigliano. And—who knows?—even Florence itself might become their vassal. Such were the visions that filled the imaginations of some, at least, of the Sienese leaders.

Early in 1259, the Twenty-four sent ambassadors to Palermo to petition for Manfred's assistance in the struggle that was then imminent. But whilst they allied with Manfred, they desired to avoid, as far as possible, provoking the anger of the Pope. They were anxious not to imperil their chances as bankers to the Roman Curia, or to lose papal protection for their merchants in France and England. When, therefore, their ambassadors swore fealty to Manfred, they did so on the expressed condition that they should not be called upon to do anything against the liberties of the Roman church.

Manfred permitted this reservation, and took Siena under his protection,¹ promising to succour her against her foes. Material help, however, was not forthcoming, and war seemed daily more imminent. The citizens, therefore, grew more and more impatient. A few months later they despatched another embassy to Palermo, begging Manfred to send men-at-arms with a captain into Tuscany; and, at the same time they exhorted him to assume the imperial crown.

Manfred wrote an affectionate letter² to the Sienese, in response to the messages they had sent him, thanking them for their expressions of loyalty. He told them that he had already marked their devotion to his person, and that, for that cause, he loved Siena above all the cities of Tuscany. He would send them, he said, a military leader of his own blood, and with such a force as would make the rough places smooth for them, and cause peace to reign throughout the province.

Manfred was true to his word. Towards the end of December³ Giordano of Anglano, a brave and able general, cousin-german of the king, entered Siena with a goodly company of knights. And shortly after his arrival he was joined by another strong detachment of German cavalry.⁴

But before the coming of Giordano a futile revolt, encouraged if not instigated by the Florentines, broke out in the Maremma. Grosseto, Monteano and Monte-

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Caleffo Vecchio*, c. 350^t, May 1259.

² Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Lettere al concistoro*, Filza i.

³ Gregorovius (*ed. cit.*, vol. v., pt. ii., p. 339, n. 1.) has erred in regard to the date of Giordano's entry into Siena. See in the Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Cons. della Camp.*, ad ann. 9^t, 13, 13^t, 14.

⁴ Malavolti, *ed. cit.*, Seconda Parte, f. 2 ^{to}.

massi rebelled against Siena. Whereupon the *Consiglio Generale* sent the bands of the *Terzo* of Camollia to attack the former city, and with them went Giordano and his German cavalry. After less than a fortnight's siege the town surrendered.¹

At the same time the Sienese strengthened the fortifications of all their border strongholds and provisioned them. With Giordano's assent they despatched ambassadors again to Manfred, urging him to send additional forces to their aid. They wrote letters, too, to Rome, Viterbo, and other places, begging the citizens not to do trade with Florence. And after the fall of Grosseto they continued the war in the Maremma, with the help of the reconciled inhabitants of the subject city.

It was on the 19th of April that the Florentines set out, 30,000 strong, preceded by their *carroccio*, with the lily banner flying from its masthead. They directed their march to Colle in the Val d'Elsa; and, leaving Siena on their left hand, they proceeded in the direction of the Maremma, as though they intended to raise the siege of Montemassi, a rebel town which the Sienese were besieging. But having advanced as far as Mensano, they turned round and made their way in a very leisurely fashion to San Martino, a fortress a few miles to the north of Siena.

They had intended, no doubt, by this feint to surprise the city's defenders. But the movement was executed too slowly. Not until a month after they had left Florence did they find themselves within sight of the hill-set town. By that time the Sienese were fully prepared to resist any attack.

¹ Malavolti, *ed. cit.*, Seconda Parte, f. 5, The town surrendered on February 5, 1260,

On 17th May the Florentines pitched their camp on the hills of San Martino and Vico ; and on that night they had a skirmish with a detachment of German cavalry. On the following morning they advanced to the monastery of Santa Petronilla, outside the Camollia Gate. Count Giordano and his knights, supported by a small body of the civic infantry, made a sudden sortie from the town and put the besiegers to flight. But on the Florentines rallying, a large number of the Germans were cut off and killed, and the banner of Manfred falling into the hands of the enemy, they dragged it contemptuously through the mud.

The Florentine historians relate that not one of the Germans who took part in this sortie escaped. They also tell us that Farinata degli Uberti had privately persuaded the Sienese to send out an insufficient body of Germans, saying to the *Ventiquattro* that if Manfred's men were cut to pieces, the king's thirst for vengeance would be so great that he would certainly despatch large forces to the help of his allies in Tuscany. One at least of these statements can be proved to be false : there is ample evidence in the Sienese Archives to show that many of the Germans who took part in this engagement returned alive to the city, and were treated for their wounds in the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala. The story of Farinata degli Uberti's device for obtaining larger reinforcements seems fantastic and improbable on the face of it, and there is no documentary evidence to support it. The king's representative in Siena, being an astute man of affairs as well as a great strategist, would have seen through so transparent a plot had it ever been attempted, and he would have reported the treachery of his allies to his absent master.

The fact of the matter is, that for centuries the Florentines were unable to forget the humiliations they had experienced in this war. And as it was impossible to deny that the forces of the Republic had suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of an army far inferior to them in numbers, her historians, from Villani downwards, have striven to prove that Florence was really beaten by the wiles and the valour of her own sons. Thus the extraordinary legends that have gathered round the name of Farinata degli Uberti are the offspring of the wounded vanity of his own countrymen.

To demonstrate the baselessness of these stories, it is not necessary to rely solely upon evidence derived from early Sieneſe chronicles, or upon the strongest *à priori* arguments. For, notwithstanding the destruction of a large proportion of the public documents and records of this year, there is enough evidence yet remaining in the Archives at Siena to show how insignificant was the part played by the Florentine exiles in the preparations for this struggle. They were treated with consideration as guests and allies; but the Sieneſe could never forget that after all these *fuorusciti* were foreigners and Florentines. They feared, no doubt, that some Florentine “virus” might yet remain in Farinata and his friends, a fear which subsequent events fully justified.¹ And so, very wisely, they kept the management of the war in their own hands, taking counsel only with their lord’s brave and capable lieutenant, Giordano of Anglano.

But just as the civilised world has accepted without

¹ Tommasi (*Istoria*, vol. ii., pp. 7-9) clearly demonstrates that there was no real union between the Sieneſe and their allies. Farinata’s hatred of Provenzano Salvani, shown at the Ghibelline Council at Empoli, was not born in a day.

question Florentine accounts of the early history of Italian painting, in like manner the Florentine version of these events is almost universally accepted, and for the same reasons. Thanks to the literary genius of her filial panegyrists, Florence has the ear of Christendom. When Dante is singing, or Boccaccio telling stories, or Villani discoursing of the deeds of heroes with simple eloquence, men do not heed the mumbled protests of Dryasdust. Even the judicious Gregorovius¹ accepts without question some of the worst slanders of Florentine writers. And the faith of the average English Dantist in the statements of so malignant a detractor of the Sienese as Villani is childlike and unquestioning.

The invaders claimed Santa Petronilla as a great victory for their arms. But it soon became obvious that the events of that conflict had taught their leaders how little reliance could be placed upon their own men, who, solely because of their cowardice, had barely escaped defeat in a battle in which they were in an overwhelming majority. It was deemed useless to persevere in the siege of the town, and two days later they set out on their homeward march.

A few days after their departure, Provenzano Salvani returned to his native city from Manfred's Court, with large reinforcements. Thus encouraged, the citizens prosecuted the war with vigour. They stormed Montemassi, and were successful in taking it. They laid waste all the country round Montepulciano, and besieged that city. They placed garrisons in Monteriggioni and other frontier fortresses.

¹ Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, vol. v., pt. ii., p. 389. Malavolti (see *ed. cit.*, Seconda Parte, 31¹ and 32) disproves the statement of the Florentine chroniclers, that the Tuscan Ghibellines deserted Manfred at the last,

Finally, they determined to take Montalcino, an object of more importance to this trading community than any other, as the great road to Rome passed through the *contado* of that city.

In the meantime, the Florentines were actively preparing for another expedition. According to Villani, they were lured on by the words of two friars, the secret emissaries of Farinata degli Uberti. He alleges that the exiled Ghibelline leader sent word to his fellow-citizens that, if they were to come as far as the Arbia valley with a large force, the gate of San Vienne¹ would be betrayed to them. This he did, he adds, with the connivance of the Sienese, in order to entice the Florentines to their undoing. Neither in any document in the Sienese Archives, nor in any published or unpublished Sienese chronicle, can be found evidence to support this story. Is it conceivable that the people of Siena would have permitted their ally to invite a strong and preponderating force to ravage the country up to the very walls of their city, knowing well that, were the invitation accepted, they would place Siena in imminent danger? It is probable, indeed, that this story, like that of the plot devised by Farinata, before the battle of Santa Petronilla, had its origin in the injured pride of Florence.

There is a possibility that, as Tommasi suggests, the leading burghers of Florence, the magnates of her guilds, full of hatred of their successful rivals in the neighbour city, and therefore, more eager than ever for war than either the nobles or the populace, may have invented some such story as this in order to win over timid opportunists to the side of the war party.

¹ The gate of San Vienne is now known as the Porta Pisipini.

But the question is in reality of no great importance. War in any case was inevitable. The ambitious trading community on the banks of the Arno could not possibly remain quiet whilst Siena pursued unchecked her career of commercial aggrandisement. "For what purpose," the Florentines must have asked, "have we suffered for the Pope's cause? He still employs these Ghibellines as his bankers and collectors. They are on terms of friendship both with the Curia and with the city of Rome, with the supreme pontiff and with the Emperor. They have established their power in the Maremma and in Poggibonsi. Soon Montalcino and Montepulciano will be theirs and they will have unquestioned control of the Via Francigena. And should their ally, this Manfred, of Frederick's viper-brood, win political supremacy in Italy, Siena will become the capital of Tuscany, and Florence will sink to the level of a third-rate country town. Something must be done, and done quickly, if our citizens are not to see themselves excluded from the world's great marts by the bankers and traders of this upstart community."

The impatient counsels of the great merchants prevailed. Montalcino was in great straits. It was the fear that this important position was in danger of falling into the hands of the Sienese that caused the Florentines to hurry on preparations for war.¹ And towards the end of August the great host of the Tuscan Guelphs set out. Under its banner were contingents from Prato and Bologna, from Volterra and San Miniato al Tedesco, from Colle and San Gimignano. With it, too, rode some of Siena's feudal neighbours, Count Aldobrandino of Pitigliano,

¹ Malavolti, *ed. cit.*, Seconda Parte, Libro i., p. 13.

cousin of the Captain-general of the Sienese, and Pepo Visconti of Campiglia.

On this occasion the Guelphs made no wide detour; they marched by way of the Val di Pesa. On arriving at Pieve Asciata they sent ambassadors to Siena. In the meantime the army kept on its way. Leaving the city on the right hand, it advanced to the Arbia, and crossing it near S. Ansano-in-Dofana, it pitched its camp in the valley called the Cortine, and on the lower slopes of Monteselvoli, not far from the castle of Montaperti.

On reaching Siena the Florentine envoys were received by the Twenty-four in the church of San Cristoforo. "It is our will," said they, "that this city be dismantled straightway, and that the wall of Siena be broken down in several places, so that we may enter into the town when and where we please. We purpose to place a Signory in every *Terzo* at our pleasure. And we wish, also, to make a strong fortress in Camporegio, to furnish it with provisions and garrison it, and hold it for our magnificent and mighty Commune of Florence. But if you refuse to submit to do this that we have said, you must expect, without doubt, to be besieged by our powerful Commune of Florence. And be assured that in such case we shall not be moved by any pity. Wherefore, let us know at once what your purpose is."

A few of the councillors, remembering perhaps Siena's many defeats at the hands of Florence, were for temporising with the enemy. But an overwhelming majority, led by Provenzano Salvani, would hear of nothing but immediate resistance. And so, after a short deliberation the *Ventiquattro* gave this brief and

dignified answer to the insolent ultimatum of the Florentines: "We have heard and understood your demands; and we bid you return to the Captain-general and the officials of your Commune, and tell them that we will give them our reply face to face."

The Twenty-four then hastened on preparations for the struggle. In order to please the German cavalry they agreed to give them double pay. And when it was discovered that there was not enough in the public treasury to cover these and the other expenses of the war, one of the councillors, the wealthy Salimbene de' Salimbeni, knight and merchant, offered to place a large sum of money at the disposal of the Commune. And, if the chronicler is to be believed, he went forthwith, whilst the Council was still sitting, to his palace hard by, and brought to San Cristoforo a vast quantity of golden florins, in a chariot covered with scarlet and decked with olive. The Germans, we are told, upon receiving their double pay, "for the joy that they had, danced a good bit, and sang in their own tongue many songs."

The councillors then agreed to appoint a Syndic, who was to act as temporary dictator of the city. "And, as if inspired by God, they chose as Syndic of the Commune, Buonaguida Lucari, a man . . . of as high a character as it was possible then to find in Siena; and to him was given full authority and control over the government of the town. And whilst this election was in progress, our spiritual father, Messer the Bishop, caused the bell to ring to summon his clergy. And he made to come together all the clergy of Siena, priests, and canons, and friars, and all the religious, to the Duomo, and being assembled there he made a short

sermon to them, admonishing them and comforting them, and bidding them pray to God and His most holy Mother the Virgin Mary, and to all the Saints . . . for the people of the city; . . . that as He had spared the city of Nineveh because of its fasting and repentance, so it would please Him to free Siena from the fury and pride of these knaves of Florentines. And so he ordained that every one should make bare his feet, and should go devoutly in procession through the Duomo, singing with a loud voice and invoking ceaselessly the pity of God.¹

¹ The authority that I quote here is an anonymous Sieneſe chronicle, entitled *La ſconfitta di Montaperti*, or *La battaglia di Montaperti*. The earlieſt exiſting manuſcripts of this chronicle belong to the early half of the fifteenth century, but D'Ancona and other recent authorities hold that all theſe manuſcripts are copies, or verſions, of a thirteenth century original. It is certain that the ſtatements of the narrative of the earlieſt verſions are confirmed by contemporary documents in the Archives of Siena and Florence. The moſt important manuſcript of this chronicle is in the Ambroſian Library, Milan. There are others in the Chigi Library and in the Public Library at Siena. That at Siena is of the year 1442. It was written by a certain Niccolò di Ventura, a third-rate painter, who was born about 1380 and who died in 1464. Niccolò di Ventura's verſion of the chronicle was published in the old *Miscellanea Storica Senese*, by G. Porri, in 1844. Porri moderniſed the text and inserted additions from other manuſcripts. Modern hiſtorians of Montaperti have invariably uſed the eaſily-attainable but corrupt verſion of Porri, quoting it under the name of its fifteenth century tranſcriber, Niccolò di Ventura. None of them, it would ſeem, are acquainted with the Ambroſian codex, mentioned by D'Ancona and Bacci (*Manuale della Letteratura Italiana*, Firenze, Barbera, 1898, vol. i. p. 149), which, as D'Ancona rightly contends, reproduces the thirteenth century original more cloſely than any other verſion. The Ambroſian manuſcript (Bibl. Amb. Cod., F.S.V. 23) was copied by a certain Jachomo di Marrano in 1445. It is well written, and is in very good condition. The text of it was printed by Ceruti in vol. vi. of the *Propugnatore*. Finding it impoſſible to get a copy of this volume of the extinct *Propugnatore*, I went to Milan, and my references are to the Ambroſian codex. In my account of the battle I have made large uſe of this manuſcript of the chronicle.

A curious hiſtory of the battle, largely founded upon this chronicle, was published in Siena in 1502, by Lanzilotto Politi. This book, printed by "Symione di Nicholo, cartolaio," and dedicated "Al Magnifico Pandolfo Petrucci," is extremely rare. It is the work, the author himſelf tells us, of

“And whilst Messer the Bishop, with all the religious and clergy were thus going in procession singing . . . their litanies and prayers, God put it into the mind of the Syndic, that is to say of Buonaguida Lucari, to rise, and say in a voice so loud that he was heard by the citizens who were outside the church in the piazza of S. Cristofano: ‘My lords of Siena, and my dear fellow-citizens, we have already commended ourselves to King Manfred, now it appears to me, that we ought in all sincerity to give ourselves, our goods and our persons, the city and the *contado*, to the Queen of Life eternal, that is to say to our Lady Mother the Virgin Mary. To make this offering, let it be your pleasure to bear me company.’

“And no sooner had he said these words than this Buonaguida stripped himself to his shirt. And, being barefooted and bareheaded, he took his leathern girdle and fastened it round his neck with a slip-knot. And in this guise, in the presence of all the citizens, he set out towards the Duomo. And behind him went all the people; and whomsoever they met by the way went with them, each man being shoeless and without cloak or hat. . . . And as they went they ceased not to cry, ‘Mary Virgin! succour us in our great need, and deliver us out of the claws of these lions, and from these haughty men who seek to devour us.’ And all the

a very young man. The account is interspersed with a large number of *canzoni* addressed to the Deity, the Blessed Virgin, and to Bacchus, as well as with various panegyrics of the reigning tyrant. It is an original and amusing book, and has an interesting frontispiece—a view of the city of Siena taken from outside the Porta Camollia.

The best modern authority on the battle of Montaperti is Paoli. His edition of *Il Libro di Montaperti* (Florence, Vieusseux, 1889), and his articles on the battle which appeared in the old *Bulletino della Società senese di Storia Patria* in 1869, are invaluable contributions to the literature of the subject.

people prayed, ‘Oh, Madonna, most holy, Queen of Heaven, we miserable sinners entreat your mercy!’

“And upon their arrival at the Duomo, Messer the Bishop was going in procession through the church, and was at that moment at the high altar, before our gracious Lady the Virgin Mary. And he began to sing the *Te Deum laudamus* in a loud voice.

“It was just then that the people reached the door of the church, and commenced to cry out ‘Misericordia! Misericordia!’ with many tears. At that plaint so dolorous and piteous, Messer the Bishop and all the clergy turned round, and went to meet Buonaguida. And when they were come together, all kneeled down, and Buonaguida prostrated himself to the earth. Whereupon Messer the Bishop raised him up, and gave him the kiss of peace. And then all the citizens went one to another and kissed one another on the mouth. And this was done at the entering to the choir of the Duomo.

“And taking one another by the hand, Messer the Bishop and Buonaguida went up to the altar of our Mother the Virgin Mary, and there they kneeled down with great lamentation and bitter tears. And this venerable citizen, Buonaguida, lay all prostrate on the ground, and so did all the people, with much weeping and many sighs. And so they remained for a quarter of an hour. Then Buonaguida raised himself to his feet in front of our Mother the Virgin Mary, and uttered many wise and prudent words. And amongst others he spake these following: ‘Oh, Virgin, glorious Queen of Heaven, Mother of sinners! I, a wretched sinner, give, grant, and yield to thee, this city and *contado* of Siena; and I pray thee, sweetest Mother,

that it may please thee to accept it, notwithstanding our great frailty and our many sins. Regard not our offences, but guard, defend, and deliver us, I beseech thee, from the hands of these perfidious dogs of Florentines, and from whomsoever may wish to oppress, to harass, or to ruin us.'

"These words having been said, Messer the Bishop went up into the pulpit and preached a very beautiful sermon, admonishing the people with good examples, and praying and commanding them to embrace one another, and to forgive one another all trespasses, to confess and to communicate. . . . And he charged them that they should go with him, and with all the clergy and religious, in procession.

"And in this procession, before all the rest, went that carved crucifix which is in the Duomo, and immediately after it followed many clergy. Then came a red standard, behind which walked Messer the Bishop. He was barefooted, and by his side was Buonaguida in his shirt, with his girdle round his neck. Then followed all the canons of the cathedral, all without shoes and bareheaded, and as they went they sang psalms and hymns very devoutly. After them passed along all the women, shoeless and bareheaded, and a part of them with hair dishevelled, ever commending themselves to God, and to the most holy Mother the Virgin Mary. And so they went in procession to S. Cristofano, and into the Campo, and returned to the Duomo. And they commenced to make peace one with another. And he that had received the greatest injury went to seek out his brother to make peace with him, and to pardon him, and to kiss him. And soon concord was made. . . . And the said Buonaguida, with a very small company,

returned to S. Cristofano, together with the 'Twenty-four. And as if it had been ordained by God they took sweet counsel. And this was Thursday, the third of September, and now night was already drawing on.

“And when the morning came, the *Ventiquattro*, who governed and controlled Siena, sent three criers, into every *Terzo* one, crying, ‘Brave citizens, arise! and take your trusty weapons; and let each one, in the name of our Mother the sweetest Virgin Mary, follow his standard-bearer, commending himself to God and to His Holy Mother.’

“Scarcely had the crier finished before all the citizens were straightway so eager that the father waited not for the son, nor the one brother for the other. And so they all went towards the gate of San Viene.

“And at that place came together all the three standards. That of San Martino was the first, both for honour of the saint, and because that *Terzo* is the nearest to the gate. The second was that of the city; and with it was a very large body of men all well armed. The third was the royal standard of Camollia, which was all white and shining, clear and pure, representing the mantle of our Mother, the Virgin Mary. Behind that banner followed very many people, not all Sienese, but all foot soldiers or knights. And with this company were many priests and friars, both with arms and without arms, to help and comfort the good folk. And all went willingly, with one mind, one heart, and one purpose, all being full of hostile intent against these dogs of Florentines who with such vehemence had demanded so many things that were unfair and beyond all reason. But God, just and kind, and pitiful, rewarded them according to their deserts.

“Now when all the people of Siena had gone out, . . . the aged men and women who had remained in the city, with much lamentation and with great fear, together with Messer the Bishop and with many devout clergy and religious,¹ commenced, on Friday morning early, a solemn procession, having with them all the holy relics which were in the Duomo; and they went to visit all the churches in Siena. And all the way, the clergy went with them, singing psalms, and litanies, and prayers. And the women, all barefooted, with very old clothes on their backs, walked in the said procession, praying each one all the time to God that He would restore to her a father or a son, a brother or a husband. And all, with great lamentation and tears, went in that procession, always calling upon the glorious Queen of Heaven, the most sweet Virgin Mary.”

¹ I have been condemned for using this word. I will gladly cease to employ it when I am told of a single English word that I can substitute for it.

CHAPTER VII

MONTAPERTI

HE who leaves Siena by the south-western gate, the Porta Pispini, and follows the main road which leads to Asciano, will, after less than an hour's walking, begin to climb the gentle slope of Monte Ropoli. Upon reaching the top of the ascent he will find below him the broad, well-watered plain of the Arbia, with Monteselvoli, cypress-crowned, rising above the river's farther bank, prominent amongst a chain of low hills which form the valley's south-eastern boundary, and divide it from the narrower Val-di-Biena. And beyond these green slopes he will see, lying fold on fold against the horizon, the sterile, volcanic highlands of the Ascianese.

The Arbia valley runs from north-east to south-west. Monte Ropoli, Monteacuto, and other hills enclose it on the side nearer to Siena; whilst on the opposite side, above Monteselvoli, rise like a wall the sheer ridges of Mencia and Poggiarone, with Montapertaccio¹ beyond them. Close to Monteselvoli the brook called the Malena pours itself into the Arbia. And above this point the valley is watered by both these streams, the Malena running close under its precipitous south-western rampart, at the foot of Mencia

¹ Repetti confounds Montapertaccio with Montaperti. See Aquarone, *Dante in Siena*, Città di Castello, 1889, p. 17.

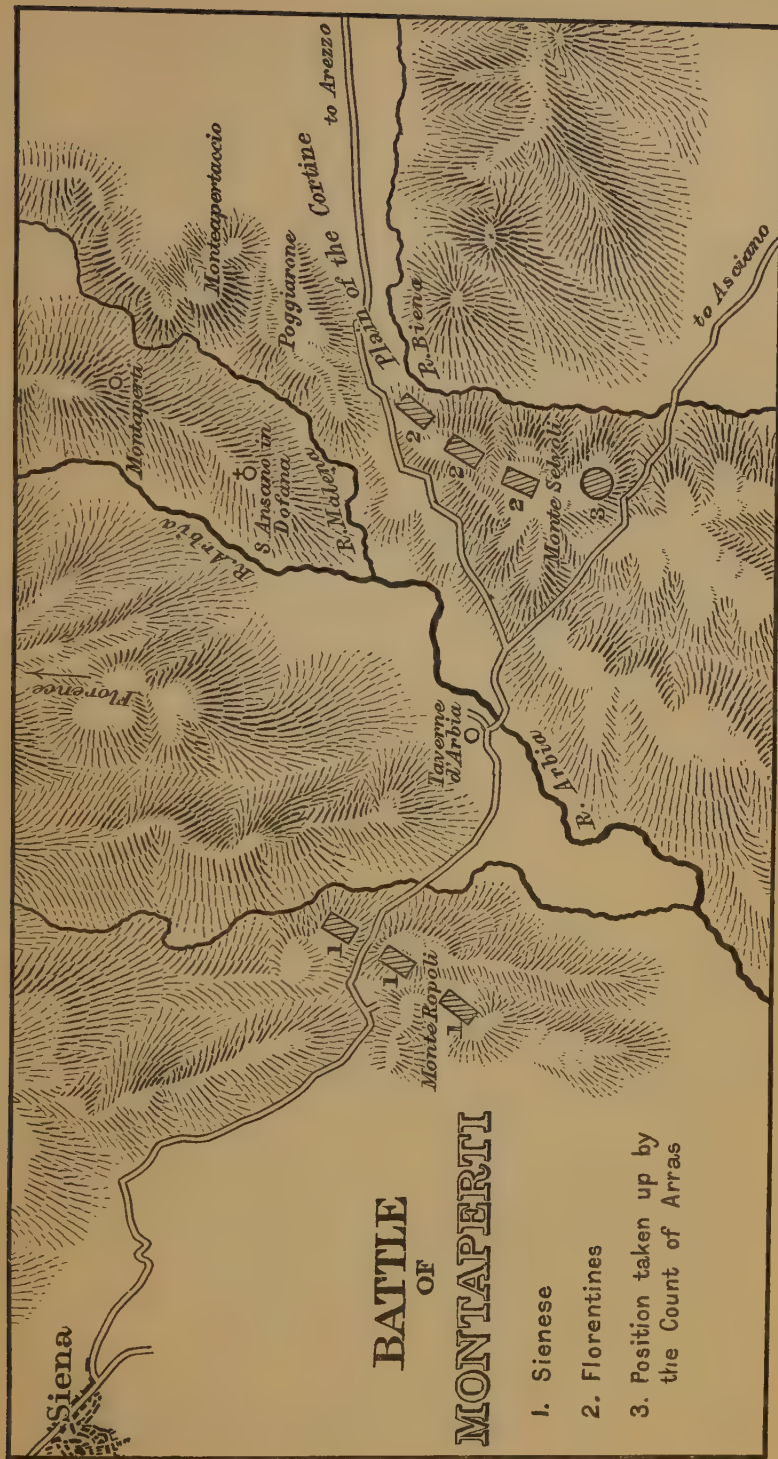
and Poggiarone. Yet higher up the valley the bastioned steep of Montaperti rises suddenly from the almost flat watershed of Malena and Arbia.

Near Montaperti the Val-di-Biena is connected with the valley of the Arbia by a narrow gulch which divides Poggiarone from Montapertaccio. But not by this channel does the infant Biena enter the Arbia valley. Nor does it *embouche* into the Malena as all modern Italian accounts of the battle, following that of Carpellini,¹ have asserted. But it flows due south behind Poggiarone and Monteselvoli; and, passing down a narrow volcanic glen, it enters the valley of the Arbia ten miles away, at Lucignano d'Arbia, and there pours its waters into the more notorious stream.

Immediately below Monteselvoli to the north-west, and adjoining the upper valley of the Biena, is the little plain of the Cortine, which is separated from the valley of the Arbia near Monteselvoli by some broken ground, and further on by the narrow ridges of Mencia and Poggiarone. Here it was that the Florentines pitched their tents. But the left wing of the camp stretched up the northern slopes of Monteselvoli, and so could be plainly seen from Siena.

It was on the morning of Friday, September 4, 1260, that the Sienese host issued forth from the old gate of S. Viene, now known as Porta Pispini, led by Count Giordano and three hundred German knights, with Manfred's standard floating above them. They pitched

¹ *Rapporto della Commissione istituita dalla Società Senese di Storia Patria Municipale per la ricerca di tutto che in Siena si riferisce a Dante Alighieri, ecc.* vol. i., series i., pp. 44-48. All modern writers on the battle, that I am acquainted with, follow Carpellini. This mistake in topography is the parent of others. It was not until I had studied modern military surveys of the country south of Siena, and had walked over the battlefield, that the accounts of the early chroniclers became quite clear to me.



their pavilions in the valley of the Arbia, at the foot of Ropoli, and ordered their encampment in such a way as to make their numbers appear larger than they really were. Full of confidence, and trusting in the help of their divine protectress, who had so often succoured them and to whom they had solemnly commended themselves and their city, they ate well of the good fare provided for them by the thoughtful rulers of the State, who held that "good roast flesh makes a man more strong for fight."

As the night wore on, and their camp fires illuminated the trailing white clouds which lay above host and city, the Sienese believed that their protectress had indeed heard their prayer, and that her snowy robe was stretched over her children to shield them from all harm. And so, falling upon their knees, they cried aloud: "Oh, Glorious Virgin! We pray thee guard and defend us; and deliver us, we beseech thee, from these dogs of Florentines."

But the Sienese did not only fortify their bodies with food and their souls with prayer, they also watched and worked. They put everything in readiness for the morrow's fight. They sent forth, too, from time to time, small bodies of mounted men, to fall suddenly with great shouts on the sleeping Guelphs and to fill them with terror of their foes.

Already, if the Sienese chroniclers are to be believed, the Florentines had been assailed by some vague fears of disaster. We are told of the dismay of the Florentine when he first beheld on the other side of the valley the thousand good knights, well horsed and armed, that Manfred had sent to succour the royal allies—of his surprise when he saw how numerous was the following

host of Siena. He was haunted, too, we read, by presages of his own fate. For upon asking the names of the two streams between which his army lay encamped, he was told that they were called the Malena and the Biena. "And then he remembered that he had been warned in a vision that he would die 'between the evil and the good'—*fra 'l male e 'l bene*."

Nevertheless, notwithstanding some discouragements and alarms, the Florentines were still hopeful of victory, and still believed that they were about to give a fatal blow to Ghibellinism in Tuscany, and to cripple permanently their great commercial rival.

As it drew towards day, the Sieneſe began to dress themselves for battle. Their army was then arranged in three divisions. At the head of the first was the Count of Arras, the imperial seneschal. Count Giordano himself, followed by a large body of German knights, led the second; and with him were the exiled Ghibellines of Florence and Arezzo. The third, which was much the largest, was entirely composed of the knights and people of Siena. And at the head of this was Count Aldobrandino Aldobrandeschi of Santa Fiora, captain-general of the forces of the Commune.

An important detachment of this division, to whom it was given to guard the standard and *carroccio* of the city, was under the leadership of Niccolò da Bigozzi, the Sieneſe seneschal.

The commander of each division addressed a few rousing words to his men. And, afterwards, every man breakfasted well, each where he was, the wise *Venti-quattro* having made careful provision for the proper cooking and serving of this repast. And whilst the men were getting ready, the German knights, cheered by the

good wine of Tuscany, began to sing war-songs, to hearten themselves and their comrades for the fight.

When, at last, all was in order, a final council of war was held, and well did the Sienese leaders devise their plan of battle. The Count of Arras with his cavalry was sent off privily by hidden ways to lie in ambush,¹ and the signal given to him was the battle-cry "St George!" Shrouded by the trees that then covered the lower slopes of Monteselvoli to the south and west, he succeeded in making his way undetected, by a path which ran parallel with the road to Asciano at a few hundred yards below it. Crossing this highway further on, he so got round into the main valley of the Biena on the other side of the hill; and having arrived there, he crept up under cover of the western slope of Monteselvoli, and found good ambushment close behind the Florentine left flank, his object being to drive the enemy down into the little plain of the Cortine.

At the same time it was arranged that Count Giordano and Count Aldobrandino should storm Monteselvoli in front, whilst Niccolò da Bigozzi and a portion of the third division were to remain behind with the *carroccio* and the standard-bearers of the *Terzi* of the city. The order was passed round that the Sienese were not to take prisoners, nor to have care for booty, but that it was to be their sole aim "to make cold meat of the enemy," allowing them no quarter.

When the command to advance was given, the main part of the army, comprising the second and most of the third division, proceeded up the valley

¹ *La battaglia di Montaperti*, MS. Chron., in Bibl. Ambr., Cod. F.S.V. 23, f. 9^b.

until it was immediately opposite Monteselvoli. It then crossed the Arbia, about half a mile below its confluence with the Malena, and advancing without sound of drum or trumpet, began to ascend the hill. Seeing the Sienese coming on, those of the Florentines who were still in the plain of the Cortine and on the lower slopes of Monteselvoli immediately climbed up higher, in order to get the advantage of the ground.¹

The first of the Ghibellines to join battle—exercising a privilege granted to his house by the Emperor himself—was Walter of Astenburg, a young knight, “beautiful in body and of much prowess,” “whose charger,” says the chronicler, “appeared to be a very dragon, mad to devour the enemy.” Lowering his vizor, he made the sign of the cross, and then, couching his lance, and uttering a terrible cry, he dashed upon the captain of the Lucchesi, who was leading the Florentine left wing, and bore man and horse to earth; and so he set on a second, and so a third, “raging here and there amongst the men of Lucca like a lion let loose.” After him followed his uncle, Henry, and then came Count Giordano and his knights, who charged upon the men of Arezzo. He was followed by Count Aldobrandino with the companies of Siena crying with one voice: “*Alla morte! Alla morte!*” And drawing his two-handed sword, Santa Fiora did great deeds of arms that day. “He who received one stroke from him had no need of another, nor did he require any doctor to make him whole.”

“Then was there a great medley of breaking of

¹ *La battaglia di Montaperti*, MS. Chron., in Bibl. Amb., Cod. F.S.V. 23, f. 10.

spears and smiting of swords. And the noise of the sound of it rang from hill to hill." No quarter was given or sought on either side.

Meanwhile, in Siena, Cerreto Ceccolini,¹ the drummer, a man of remarkably clear vision, was set on the top of the Palazzo Marescotti² to descry the moving hosts and to make report to the anxious crowd below. Calling attention with a few loud drum-taps, he then cried down to the weeping women kneeling in prayer at the foot of the tower: "Our men have passed the Arbia. . . . They begin to mount the hill. . . . The Florentines ascend from the other side to meet them. . . . Now they are fighting hand to hand. . . . Pray to God to give strength and succour to the host of Siena!" And at the same time in Siena's Duomo, bishop and priests and friars, women and children, and men too old to fight, cried to God in endless litanies: "Have mercy, Oh, God! Have mercy on Thy people! Visit not our sins upon us! And deliver us not into the hands of our enemies!"

"And the battle was warred passing hard," says the chronicler. "And now our men had the

¹ *La battaglia di Montaperti*, MS. Chron., in Bibl. Amb. Cod. F.S.V. 23, f. 11. All the manuscripts of the chronicle of the battle make mention of this drummer-watchman, though in the Ambrosian version his name is not given. Here and there the chronicler has perhaps exaggerated a little Cerreto Ceccolini's powers of vision. But the distance, as the crow flies, from the tower of the palace to the battlefield is only three miles; and in the clear air of an Italian summer it would be quite possible to follow the movements of large compact bodies of men three miles away, especially if the men constituting each body were to wear distinctive colours. The palace had, of course, in those days a high tower. Telescopes of a primitive kind were already in use in Italy, and it is quite possible that the drummer was provided with one by the *Ventiquattro*. See Acquarone, *Dante in Siena*, 1865, p. 24.

² The Palazzo Marescotti was rebuilt some forty or fifty years later. It subsequently passed into the possession of the Saracini family.

advantage, and now the Florentines. And so it fared until the hour of terce was long past, and vespertide was already coming on."

And all the while, from the top of the tower, Cerreto kept calling out news of the fight to the wives and mothers of Siena, exhorting them to pray ceaselessly to the Lord of Battles.

As the day wore towards evening, the sun, which at the beginning of the fight had been behind them, began to shine full upon the faces of the Florentines. And deeming it safe then to leave the Sienese *carroccio* but slightly protected, Niccolò da Bigozzi with his company rode across the valley, and crying loudly: "*Ahi caniglia! Alla morte! Alla morte!*" he joined the battle. Putting his lance in the rest, he set upon the Count of Pitigliano, his own commander's Guelph cousin. But the scion of the Aldobrandeschi, though wounded at the first shock, succeeded in killing the horse of his assailant. Niccolò, however, managed to get free; and, there being brought to him a captured charger, he horsed him again and rode fiercely into the press. But even when thus reinforced, the Sienese could not entirely prevail.

"The strife is waged furiously," cried Cerreto. . . . "Now our men are in flight. . . . Now in flight are the enemy. . . . Cry to God to aid us! Cease not to entreat Him!"

And about the hour of vespers, the Count of Arras, who had all along been lying in wait almost within bowshot of the Florentines, suddenly broke ambush. It was the decisive moment of the battle. Hurling themselves upon the enemy, the

Count and his valorous knights drove many of them down into the plain of the Cortine. "And as a river at flood-time sweeps before it every obstacle, so the valiant Count made a broad path through the ranks of the foe."

At the same time Count Giordano led another charge against the Florentine centre. And just as he and his Germans were crossing swords with the Guelph knights, Bocca degli Abati, a Ghibelline of good family, compelled perforce to fight in the Florentine ranks, with one blow smote off the hand of Jacopo de' Pazzi, the standard-bearer of the Guelph cavalry, and so cast their banner to the ground. Then, joining the Ghibellines, he fiercely attacked his former comrades. This completed the discomfiture of the Florentines. Many of the knights, seeing that the day was lost, and not knowing who were friends or who were foes, put spurs to their horses and rode amain out of the battle. And at the same time, their allies on foot, thrown into panic by the sudden appearance of the Count of Arras and his German cavalry, as well as by the headlong flight of their own knights, thought of nothing else than how to escape their ruthless enemy.

"They are broken! They are broken!" shouted the Sieneſe leaders. "On! On to them, brave comrades! Let not one of them escape!" And the victorious Ghibellines were not slow to respond to the call. Then took place:

*"Lo strazio e 'l grande scempio
Che fece l'Arbia colorata in rosso."*

It was a slaughter without pity.

"In vain," says the Sieneſe chronicler, "did they

call on S. Zanobi to help them. We slaughtered them as a butcher slays beasts on Good Friday. . . . Marvellous it was," he adds, "to see what great carnage they made of these dogs of Florentines. . . . It availed them not to cry 'I surrender!' or to plead for mercy; for so great was the fury of the victors that they wished them all dead."

"So you will take our city, will you?" cried the men of Siena. "So you will level our walls to the ground, and build your castle-keep in Camporegio? Take that . . . and that . . . and that, dogs and traitors that you are!" And so the Sienese continued to harry and slay their flying foes, showing no ruth. And on the top of the tower in Siena, Cerreto, beating a merry tune on his drum, cried: "Now are our men victorious! Now the Florentines flee and are discomfited!"

The Guelph knights had escaped out of the little plain of the Cortine, at the farther side from Monteselvoli. And riding for a little way up the right bank of the Biena, they had turned up that narrow gulch which connects the Val di Biena with that of the Arbia. Thus skirting the northern slope of Poggiarone, they had reached the Malena. And crossing it, and making their way over the plain, they forded the Arbia some few hundred yards above S. Ansano-in-Dofana, and thus, at length, they reached the road to Florence.

The standard-bearers of Florence, and the guardians of the *carroccio*, led by old Giovanni Tornaquinci, had sought to follow them, bearing with them their precious charge. They succeeded in fighting their way into the plain of the Arbia. They had passed the Malena, and were already drawing to the valley's other

side, when an overwhelming force of Germans and Sienese set upon them, cutting off their retreat. There it was that the bravest of the Guelphs made their last stand. Rallying round the old *carroccio* which had so often led them to victory, they swore to defend it to the last. And for an hour's space the German knights, panting to lay the lily banner in the dust to revenge for the despite shown to their sovereign's standard after S. Petronilla, hacked and hewed in vain at the living wall that surrounded it. Nor did they succeed in attaining their object until the last of its guardians was slain.¹ Then they took possession both of the *carroccio* and the *martinella*,² or great war-bell, of Florence, and bore them off in triumph to Ropoli.

Meanwhile, some of the enemy, men of Lucca and Arezzo and Orvieto, as well as those of Val d'Elsa and S. Gimignano, of Prato and Pistoia, had found shelter in the castle of Montaperti. But round the foot of Poggiarone the carnage still continued. "And so many men and horses were slain," says the chronicler, "that every roadway, and every ditch and furrow, ran with blood. . . . And the Malena was swollen with the blood of the Florentines, so many were dead of them and their allies."

At last even the stark Aldobrandeschi, the Sienese captain-general, was moved to pity, and riding to meet the Count Giordano, he asked him whether it would not be well for them now to annul their command against the taking of prisoners, and to make a proclamation that mercy should be shown to those who would freely

¹ Leonardo Aretino, *Istoria Fiorentina*, Lib. ii.

² The *Martinella* was used to ring out military signals. It followed the *carroccio* of Florence, borne in a smaller car. See Villari, *op. cit.*, vol. i., pp. 177, 178.

yield themselves. And Manfred's vicar agreeing, it was done as the Count of Santa Fiora desired.

Then the men of Lucca and Orvieto, and the rest of those who had taken refuge in the castle of Montaperti, came forth, and throwing themselves at the feet of Count Aldobrandeschi craved their lives of him. And in like manner the Florentines still in the valley yielded themselves to their conquerors. "And so eager were they to escape death," we are told, "that they deemed him fortunate who was taken and bound. Nay, many of them helped to bind each other." Helpless with panic and worn out with fighting, some of them suffered themselves to be tied up by a woman. Usiglia, the market-woman, herself bound thirty-six of them, using, says the chronicler, her garters for that purpose!¹ "And all of them followed her through the camp," he adds, "as little chickens follow a hen." "Thus," says Villani, "was broken and brought to naught the ancient people of Florence."²

The dead that lay about the banks of Arbia and Malena were so numerous that it was impossible to bury them. And, with the aid of the scorching sun of August, the battlefield in a very few days became a place of indescribable horror. No man dared pass by that way. The peasant inhabitants fled their homes. The valley became a wilderness, haunted only by wild beasts. Even now, when for many generations it has been again fruitful and inhabited, the villagers of

¹ *La battaglia di Montaperti*, MS. Chron., in Bibl. Amb. (Cod. F.S.V. 23), f. 12. Usiglia belonged to the *contrada* of Santa Maria della Grazie in the *terzo* of Camollia. Politi describes this act of Usiglia, and mentions the part that she played in the triumphal entry of the victorious army into Siena. See Politi, *op. cit.*, 39^t, 43^t, 46^t.

² Villani, *ed. cit.*, Lib. vi., cap. lxxx., p. 152.

Taverne d'Arbia and Presciano preserve traditions of the desolating carnage that took place there seven centuries ago. And even the locomotive's whistle has not scared away the spectral shapes that haunt it. Still, on winter nights, the *contadino*, returning homewards across the valley after his day's work, sees the ghosts of slain warriors, under the form of white dogs, scouring the banks of those streams that were once reddened with their life's blood.

It being already late when the fighting was done, the victorious army did not return to Siena, but passed the night in its camp at the foot of Ropoli. Then rising at dawn on the following day, the Sienese, laden with spoils and bearing with them a long train of prisoners, entered their city amidst great rejoicings.

At the head of the procession they placed one of the Florentine ambassadors who had brought them two days before the insulting message of his Signory. He passed along, his hands bound behind him, and seated on an ass with his head towards its tail. Tied to the beast, and trailing behind it in the dust of the highway, was the ancient standard of Florence. And as the wretch rode through Porta S. Viene and up the narrow streets of the town, the children taunted him with his boastful words, hurling them at him in derision.

After him, came Giordano and the Count of Arras, preceded by trumpeters and with Manfred's standard over them. And there followed them the stout German cavaliers, "crowned with olive branches, and singing in their own tongue beautiful songs of victory." Behind these rolled the heavy *carroccio* of Siena, with the white banner flying from its tall mast-head.

And next after it there wound along a great train of captives, with the bell of the conquered army, the *martinella*, and many beasts laden with the spoils of war. In the rear of the other prisoners, Usiglia, the market-woman, led her garter-bound company. Then passed along the captain-general of Siena, Count Aldobrandino of Santa Fiora, and the companies of the *Terzi*, with their standard-bearers. And closing the procession came more knights, with the young hero, Walter of Astenburg, his uncle, Henry, and Niccolò da Bigozzi at their head.

And thus the victors made their way to the Cathedral, "singing as they went." "And there they rendered laud and honour and glory to the most high God, and gave thanks to our Mother the Virgin Mary, who had given so great a victory to her people."

For three days these rejoicings continued. Throughout that time processions were continually passing to and fro in the streets, and *Te Deums* and other songs of praise were being chanted in the churches of the city. The *antennæ* of the victorious *carroccio* were set up in the Duomo.¹ It was ordained that a church should be built in Pantaneto in honour of the patron saint of the German knights, our own St George. And new silver money was coined, on which, to the old legend, "*Sena vetus*," were added the words, "*Civitas Virginis*."

¹ According to popular tradition the poles in the Siena Cathedral appertained to the Florentine *carroccio*. But this supposition is mistaken. See Paoli, *Il Libro di Montaperti*, p. xliii., and Lisini, *Le Antenne del Carroccio dei Senesi* in the *Atti e Memorie della R. Accademia dei Rozzi, Sezione di Storia Patria municipale, Nuova Serie*, vol. iii., pp. 177-180.

CHAPTER VIII

LIFE IN OLD SIENA

THE history of human progress has been the history of the gradual emancipation of the individual. The movement of progressive societies has been a movement from the tyranny of status to free contract. But, like everything human, the great world movement itself is subject to periodicity. The tide ebbs as well as flows. New tyrannies arise scarcely less grinding and wide-ruling than the old. There are even, in this twentieth century, men and women who desire that the liberty of the individual shall be limited and hampered on all sides, by guild laws and sumptuary laws; who would like to see triumphant democracy employing indexes, curfews, and other instruments of the old, dead despotisms; who wish ephemeral majorities to dictate to the individual when he shall labour, and at what hours he shall take holiday, what he shall eat, what he shall drink, and wherewithal he shall be clothed. In fact, there are, in the world to-day, social reformers, who hanker after establishing a social tyranny as all-pervading as that once existing, in the days of the Jesuit rule, in Paraguay, when, as Mantegazza tells us, all the acts of the colonists, including the most delicate occurrences of private life, were regulated by a bell.

But the upholder of individual liberty who takes a wide survey of human history, does not become

despondent in such periods of regress as that through which we are now passing. He knows that the tide will flow again. He knows that each time that it flows, the previous high-water mark is passed; and that some old dyke set up to bar the ocean's advance is finally swept away.

Of such periods of advance none is of more importance than the period of the Renaissance. It was in the thirteenth century that this great tide of human progress began to flow. The thirteenth century, in fact, is the borderland between the Middle Ages and the modern world. It partakes of the characteristics of both. It is the century when the seeds of antique culture, that had been brought from the East, germinated in Spain and in southern France. It is the century, too, of the Sicilian proto-Renaissance, that early wave of the great Renaissance movement. Amid the groves of Palermo, the first vernacular poets of Italy burst into song. To the brilliant court of Frederick, Michael Scot, the Emperor's old tutor, bore back the results of his ten years' sojourn in Spain—his translations of the Arabic commentators upon Aristotle, his knowledge of natural history and astronomy, of chemistry and medicine.

The thirteenth century saw, too, the revival of the civic spirit. Owing to the working of economic causes, the inhabitants of the Italian cities began to cherish other ideals than those which dominated the minds of the men of the Middle Ages, other ideals than those of the monk and the knight. Within the walls of the Italian cities men were inspired once more with the same sane, humane ideals that had filled the inhabitants of the city states of antiquity.

But even in the communes of Italy, in the cities which were the cradle of the new movement, the two great systems of the Middle Ages, and the ideals of which those systems were in part the expression, still held powerful sway over the thoughts and imaginations of men. In the cities no less than in the country, life wore something of the aspect of a camp, something of the aspect of a convent. Every man bore arms. The great palaces that cast their shadows across the narrow streets were fortresses rather than homes. As in a religious community, the most private and personal acts of the individual were subject to rules and regulations. The colour and stuff of the citizen's robe, his wife's ornaments and head-gear, the length of her dress, the size and value of the buttons which adorned it, the hours at which he might leave or enter his house—all these things were regulated by law. The individual was hemmed in by all kinds of legal restrictions in the street, the workshop, and the home. In order, then, to obtain a knowledge of the public and private life of the citizen in any Italian state, we must not only read contemporary chronicles and letters, we must not only study contemporary art and literature, we must not only make ourselves acquainted with the results of the labours of archæologists, we must also examine very carefully that commune's whole body of laws. The Sienese statutes of 1262,¹ so admirably edited by Professor Zdekauer, "contain sufficient to enable us to reconstruct both the public and private life of the

¹ Zdekauer, *Il Constituto del Comune di Siena dell' anno 1262, pubblicato sotto gli auspici della facoltà giuridica di Siena da Lodovico Zdekauer*, Milan, Hoepli, 1897. Professor Zdekauer's edition of the Sienese *Constituto* is one of the most important contributions to the constitutional history of the Italian cities that has yet seen the light.

citizen, if not in its entirety, at least in its most essential part."

And first we will see what we can glean from the Statutes of 1262 as to the public life of the citizen.

The inhabitants of Siena were, as has already been noticed, divided into two great parties, the *milites* and the *populus*. On the one side were the Knights, or the aristocratic party, on the other side were the People, who were destined to become the supreme rulers of the State—whose power was to grow and grow, until, one day, King Demos should be seen making his own knights, and giving them the accolade in the public square.

But it must not be supposed that the party of the *milites* was composed only of aristocrats, or that of the People only of plebeians. In the ranks of the *milites* were to be found many citizens of conservative instincts belonging to the middle and lower classes, and especially those craftsmen of the lesser arts who produced articles of luxury. On the side, too, of the people, were members of the most ancient Siennese families, such as Provenzano Salvani. The *milites* and the *populus* were, in fact, as Zdekauer insists, two political parties, each including amongst its adherents citizens belonging to all classes of society.

It is a peculiarity of the social organisation of Siena that the organisation of the *populus* was not based upon the arts but upon the organisation of the citizen army. The town was divided into three parts, or *terzi*. There was the *terzo* of the city, the *terzo* of Camollia, the *terzo* of San Martino. Each *terzo* was divided into wards, or *contrade*. There were originally thirty-five of these *contrade*, twelve each in the *terzi* of San Martino and .

of the City, and eleven in that of Camollia.¹ These divisions were first made for military purposes, the men of each *contrada* forming a society of arms. Each *terzo* had its own gonfalonier, and the hosts of the three *terzi* formed the citizen army. The sacred symbol of civic unity was the *carroccio*, or war-chariot. Before the *carroccio* every man of the People took his oath as a citizen. In defence of the *carroccio*, the loyal Siennese would shed his life-blood to the last drop.

The Knights were similarly organised. Their *terzi* and *contrade* were conterminous with those of the People. Like the People, the Knights had a banner-bearer for each *terzo*. But they had no *carroccio*.

We have seen how the *populus* won their first modest victory in 1147, by obtaining the right to nominate one of the three consuls of the Commune. We have seen how, in 1240, the People succeeded in obtaining half the places in the new Council of Twenty-four² which, with the consuls of the merchant guilds, and the *camerarius* and overseers of the *Biccherna*, or Exchequer, who were supreme in all matters of finance, then became the administrators of the Republic. In the middle of the century, the *populus* became a fully organised political party, under a single head, who was known as the Captain of the People, fully conscious of their aims and of the means by which they were to be attained. Already in 1257 they had brought to a successful issue an agitation for substituting a tax upon

¹ Zdekauer, *Il Constituto*, etc., p. xxxv.

² C. Paoli, *I "Monti" o fazioni nella Repubblica di Siena*; in the *Nuova Antologia*, August 1, 1891, fasc. xv., p. 404. Zdekauer, *Il Constituto*, pp. lxxvii.-lxxix. The constitution of the Twenty-four is still a subject of controversy; and the best authorities are not agreed as to the exact date when it became the supreme authority in the State.

movable property for the old hearth-tax; and by the constitution of 1262 they obtained the right of nominating to half the public offices. They had, moreover, a council of their own which formulated statutes. Their measures, it is true, were only binding upon the members of the *populus*; but, as a rule, they ultimately succeeded in getting them placed amongst the statutes of the State.

Such then, were the political parties of old Siena. We will now briefly examine her Constitution.

The centre of the life of the city was the Council of the Bell. In the old days, when the Bishop was the chief ruler of Siena, the whole population of the city was frequently summoned to a Parliament. In the thirteenth century the meetings of such Parliaments became less and less common. The Council of the Bell now became the true representative authority of the Commune. It was not a popularly elected body. Its members were summoned by the *potestà*, the Council of the Twenty-four, the *camerarius* and the overseers of the *Biccherna*, and the consuls of the two merchant guilds. It was composed of three hundred councillors, but its members could be increased indefinitely on exceptional occasions.

The most important officer elected in the *Concilium Campanie* was the *potestà*. The actual date of the foundation of this office cannot be fixed. But it was in the second and third decades of the thirteenth century that the *potestà*, who, at first, had been appointed by popular desire to overlook the work of the Consuls, began to take the place of those officials. The *potestà* was, as a rule, a foreigner. He was given a large salary and a handsome palace to live in. In theory he was

the chief representative of the Commune, but his actual power was small. He might influence legislation indirectly by suggesting measures to the officials known as the Amenders of the Constitution, to be laid by them before the Council. He might issue Decrees and Prohibitions; but even at the time of his greatest power such executive acts only had force when they were in harmony with the existing laws. When the *populus* became supreme, all independent exercise of power was forbidden him. His office became a purely representative magistracy. His legislative functions ceased. His chief duties were judicial. He was the highest judicial authority in the State. The *potesteria* was altogether a weaker institution than the consulate. After an existence of fifty years the office was already in its decline. Nevertheless, in Siena, as in other Italian communes, it had very great importance. The appointment of foreign *potestà* caused an interchange of ideas, especially upon legislative and judicial questions, amongst the chief cities of Central and Northern Italy. It helped to create a uniform type of civilisation, and something resembling a national sentiment. Above all, the presence, in towns like Siena, of distinguished jurists from the great school of Bologna had a most important influence upon the history of law in Italy.

With what keen interest must the inhabitants of the city have looked upon their new *potestà* from Bologna or Modena, as he rode through the narrow streets of Camollia on some December afternoon, escorted by a train of judges and notaries, knights and men-at-arms wearing the costumes of their own country, and speaking to each other in their harsher northern speech. In this wide-spread practice of appointing a foreign *potestà*

we see one of the early steps towards the unification of Italy.¹

The basis of the Sienese Constitution is the *balìa*.² All the great offices of the State, all councils, including the Council of the Bell itself, had their origin in *balie*, in temporary committees. In the early days of the Commune, committees were appointed from time to time, at first by the *parlamentum*, and later on by the Council of the Bell, for a definite term to perform certain fixed duties. The recurrence of the original need which had caused the appointment of the committee tended, in the course of time, to make the temporary and voluntary *balìa* a permanent office with fixed salaries. The first of the *balie* to undergo this transformation was that which had charge of the financial affairs of the Commune, the *Biccherna*. Originally a committee of the Council of the Bell, this important body became a permanent part of the Constitution. In addition to their other duties, its members supervised the maintenance and repair of streets, fountains, and bridges. They provided for the construction of public buildings. They were charged to inspect regularly the armaments of the State, and to replenish the stock of war material. They also appointed to various public offices. At the head of the *Biccherna* was the *camerarius*, usually a monk of S. Galgano.³ Members of religious orders were chosen for this office because in their ranks were to be found men who, whilst being practised men of business, were not likely to fall into corrupt practices, having no family interest to serve, and

¹ Zdekauer, *La vita pubblica dei Senesi nel dugento*, Siena 1897, p. 16.

² Zdekauer, *Il Constituto*, etc., p. lvi.

³ Representations of this personage are to be seen in the earlier *Tavolette*, or painted book-covers, of the *Biccherna*, in the *Archivio* at Siena.

being prohibited from accumulating private property. Associated with the *camerarius* were four *provisores*, or overseers, chosen from amongst the most trustworthy citizens. Whilst the office was permanent its *personel* was changed every six months.

The next of the committees, or *balie*, to become a permanent office was that of the thirteen Amenders of the Constitution. It was their duty to draft bills, either on their own initiative or upon petition, to be presented to the Council. They were required, too, to co-ordinate the statutes, and to see to it that there was nothing discordant or inconsistent in the different parts of the Constitution. They were elected annually by the Council of the Bell.

The Council of the Twenty-four was at first a *balia*, or temporary committee; although it soon became a fixed magistracy. It had a distinctly party character, and was composed entirely of Ghibellines. Its members were officially styled *XXIII^{or} partis Ghibelline populi civitatis et comitatus senarum*. They were chosen impartially, however, from all classes; and it was the most truly representative of all the governments that ruled the Commune of Siena. Owing its existence to a popular movement, the democratic party saw in it an effective instrument for carrying out its policy. The *populus*, then, strove continually to increase the powers of the Twenty-four, and to make it the sovereign authority in the State.¹ Nor were they unsuccessful. The *Ventiquattro* were soon endowed with powers such as no magistracy had held before

¹ Armstrong, *The Sienese Statutes of 1262*; in the *Eng. Hist. Review*, Jan., 1900, p. 10. This article contains an admirable summary of the *Constituto* of 1262. See also Zdekauer, *Il Constituto*, p. lxxv.

them. Whilst the Priors did not directly initiate legislation, none could take place without their intervention and assent. They were *ex-officio* members of the Council of the Bell. They formed part of the body which elected that council. In many respects they fulfilled the functions of a modern ministry.

The only representatives of the guilds that had political importance in Siena were the Consuls of the two *Mercanzie*, or Merchant Guilds. One of these guilds was that of the financiers, bankers, and money-changers. The other was that of the retail traders. In course of time these two associations became one single institution. Early in the history of the Commune, in the days of episcopal rule, their Consuls began to occupy an influential position in its government. Like the Priors of the Twenty-four, they were *ex-officio* members of the Council of the Bell. They also were included amongst the thirteen Amenders of the Constitution, and exercised control over the Mint.

The capitalists of Siena, wielding great political powers, and strengthened by their union with the small traders, acted as capitalists have been accustomed to do in all ages. They gambled in pepper and wax. They sought to make "corners" in wood and in wheat, in spite of prohibiting statutes. And while the two merchant guilds of Siena never attained to a position of political importance equal to that gained by the greater arts in Florence, their members had more power than was consistent with the well-being of the State. Their failures, and notably the collapse of the Buonsignori Company, not only brought great distress to the citizens, but also seriously affected the political relations of Siena.

Such was the Constitution of Siena in the period of her glory, whilst she was yet loyally Ghibelline, before the triumph of the *bourgeois*, before her suicidal alliance with the Guelphs.

Contemporaneous with the victory of the popular party, we see a growth of the civic spirit. In her best days, the merchants of Siena had other than merely personal aims. They wished to make their city great and prosperous. The citizens combined to found and to develop important public institutions which became inseparable parts of the structure of the Commune. In no city had the civic spirit fuller manifestation than in Siena. Her great hospital was a municipal institution managed by laymen. Her university was a communal university. The *Opera*, or Board of Works of the Cathedral, was also a communal body. Nor did the fact that large sums of public money were given to such institutions limit private generosity. The action of the Government was but the corporate expression of the public spirit that filled the citizens in the thirteenth century.

Of the building of the Duomo I shall have occasion to speak in a later chapter.¹ The present Cathedral was commenced, according to Malavolti, in the year 1245; and the evidence of documents in the Siena Archives gives some support to this statement.² It is noteworthy that, in the earliest existing manuscript relating to this edifice, we find it stated that certain payments are made to the builders "on behalf of the Commune of Siena." Nor did Siena only take part, as a city, in the

¹ Chapter XVI.

² Borghesi e Banchi, *Nuovi Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte senese*, p. 5. The first document is of the year 1246.

building of the Cathedral: all her subject towns, and the feudal chieftains of her territory were constrained to aid in some measure in this work. On the Feast of the Assumption, the representatives of the subject-cities and the barons of the *contado* went in solemn procession through the streets of Siena to make their offerings of wax at the Cathedral.

According to popular tradition the great hospital of Siena, the hospital of *Santa Maria della Scala*, was founded in the ninth century. The first certain documentary reference to this institution is of the year 1090. Originally a Pilgrim's House founded by the canons of the Cathedral, it came, in time, to have more and more the character of a hospital. The brotherhood of oblates who managed it were a lay body under no religious vows, living under the control of a Rector, a company of men and women, married and unmarried, who gave their lives to ministering to the sick and destitute. After a long struggle with the canons of the Cathedral, they succeeded in 1194 in getting entire control of the hospital, which henceforth became a lay and civic institution.

The Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala, like other similar institutions of that age, performed many functions. It not only gave shelter and succour to the sick, it also continued to exercise its original function as a house of rest for pilgrims; it was, too, a foundling hospital, an orphan asylum, and, in some measure, a refuge for the destitute.

It is in the period of the rule of the Twenty-four that the University of Siena first appears as a fully organised public institution. As early as the year 1173 there had been a public lecturer on law in



THE DUOMO OF SIENA.

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Siena, who had given instruction near the Church of San Vincenzo in Camollia.¹ But the oldest existing document that reveals to us an organised university, is of the year 1240. In that year we find the University of Siena existing as a communal institution, with professors paid by the State. Seven years later, the Commune sought to increase their small but flourishing civic university, by inviting to it from outside professors of subjects which, up to that time, had not been taught at Siena.²

One of the objects of the Government in issuing the invitation was to tempt to the Tuscan town teachers of certain branches of law, belonging to the University of Bologna, who had left that city because of dissensions in the famous school there. But the faculty of medicine also sought to strengthen its teaching staff. And amongst the scientific teachers who came to Siena in response to this invitation, was the great Pietro Hispano, afterwards known to the world as John XXI.³ The future Pope, who was an *alumnus* of the University of Paris, was a native of Portugal. He was learned in the lore of the Arab and Jewish physicians, and had, no doubt, in his youth, become acquainted with the translations of the Arabic commentators on Aristotle which had issued from the great school of Toledo.⁴

¹ Davidsohn, *Documenti del 1240 e del 1251 relativi allo studio senese*; in the *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, ann. vii., fasc. i., pp. 168, 169.

² Zdekauer, *Sulle origini dello studio senese*, Siena, 1896, p. 16. Moriani, *Notizie sulla Università di Siena*, Siena, 1873.

³ See Zdekauer, *A proposito di una recente biografia di Papa Giovanni XXI (Pietro Ispano)*; in the *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, ann. v., fasc. ii., pp. 283-287; also Petella, *Sull' identità di Pietro Hispano, medico in Siena e poi Papa, col filosofo Dantesco*; in the *Bull. Sen. di Stor. Patria*, ann. vi. (1899), fasc. ii., pp. 277-329.

⁴ For accounts of the School of Toledo, see Jourdain, *Recherches sur l'âge et l'origine des traductions latines d'Aristote*, Paris, 1843, ch. iii.; also Wood-Brown, *Life of Michael Scot*, pp. 42-136.

Pietro Hispano gave instruction in therapeutics and surgery, and in a branch of knowledge to which he had given special attention, the science of dietetics. It was during his sojourn in Siena that he wrote his earliest works, as well as his *Summulae Logicales*. He remained there for fourteen years; and the future pontiff was amongst the doctors who ministered to the wounded of the Ghibelline city after Montaperti.

Nor was elementary education neglected by the Government. The acts of the *Curia del Placito* and other contemporary writings show that it was both good and widely diffused.

The period of the rule of the Twenty-four was marked by many changes in the outward aspect of the city. In the years 1245 and 1246, the boundaries of Siena were enlarged, and many street improvements were initiated. Throughout the remaining years of the century, the city continued to grow until it became one of the largest cities in western Europe—larger than London, larger than Paris. The wealth, too, of the citizens increased rapidly; and with riches came the desire to inhabit fine houses, to possess beautiful things. The relations of the Sienese with Rome and with France brought them into direct contact with the chief centres of the civilisation of that age. They were in alliance, too, with the Pisans, whose ships were on every sea, and who brought to Tuscany objects of beauty from Greece, from Syria, and from Spain. Little wonder was it that the new aristocracy of wealth left its mark upon the streets of the city.¹ Side by side of the gloomy, crenellated,

¹ Zdekauer, *La vita privata dei Senesi nel dugento*, Siena, 1876, p. 52.



[Alinari.]

THE EFFECTS OF THE GOOD GOVERNMENT OF SIENA UPON THE LIFE OF THE CITIZEN.
From a fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico (Ambrogio Lorenzetti).

[The face of 118

fortress-like palaces of the old nobility there began to grow up the splendid houses of the wealthy merchants. Siena gradually assumed something of the appearance that it presents in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco, the "Effects of Good Government," in the *Sala della Pace*. But there yet remained a large number of wooden houses, particularly in the poorer parts of the town. And the danger of fire was increased by the wooden *loggiati*, which overhung the public highways to a third of their width.

Siena, in the time of the rule of the *Nove*, has been described by a learned authority upon her social history "as an aggregation of fortresses connected by a network of small passages and crooked labyrinthine alleys."¹ This description is not, I think, quite accurate. The writer has failed to take into account the effect upon the city of the rise of the middle class. The study of wills and of letters, the careful search for thirteenth-century houses like that of Angiolieri, above all, the evidence of Lorenzetti's fresco, reveals to us the fact that the houses of well-to-do burghers were multiplying in Siena. The civic ideal, as contrasted with the feudal and the monastic, began to manifest itself in the architecture of the city. And whilst it may be true that the Sienese of the upper class had "a rooted determination that no wall of his house should be used as a party wall," this rule was by no means strictly adhered to, even by the wealthier citizens. Many of the houses of the upper and middle classes, built in the thirteenth and in the early part of the fourteenth century, were, and are, attached to each other. A careful study of the houses of Siena has convinced me that large portions of

¹ Heywood, *Siena in the Days of Fra Filippo*, Siena, Torrini, 1891, pp. 34, 35.

her older streets have not undergone any important structural change since the age of Cecco Angiolieri. Many splendid palaces owe their origin, it is true, to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; but some considerable part of old Siena is left to us. The old dwellings of the city have lost their crenellations. Their towers have been cut down or destroyed. Their windows have been altered. Here and there they have been covered with plaster. They have suffered by fire and by the decaying power of time, but the greater part of many a Siennese house dates from the true days of her glory. Their crumbling walls have beheld Messer Provenzano Salvani in his pride. The exiled Dante walked in their shadow. They echoed back the Germans' rude songs of wine and victory after Montaperti.

The streets of old Siena were, without doubt, very narrow. Many of them, too, were dirty, according to our modern notions. The rain and the swine were their chief though not their only cleansers. But a student who is at all acquainted with the history and condition of European towns in the Middle Ages cannot doubt that mediæval Siena, in comparison with the cities of France and England as they were in that age, was a very clean town—cleaner than London or Paris were, after three centuries of progress, infinitely cleaner than the Stratford of Shakespeare's day or the Edinburgh of the eighteenth century. In Siena, the main streets, or *strade*, were all paved with brick tiles, whilst the *vie*, or side streets, were covered with stone.¹ So renowned

¹ It was not until 1317 that the streets of Naples were properly paved—Archivio, Naples, *Reg.* 1317-1318; A. 214, 148^t. Robert visited Siena in 1310. After his return to Naples, he set to work, in 1312, to cleanse his capital.—“Deliciosa . . . civitas Neapolis, corrupto aere per repleta lacunaria, et cenositatem repletam, spurcitiis, mandatur purgare, et itinera refici, adequari, pavimentari, et lineari.”



VIA GALLUZZA, SIENA.

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were the pavers of Siena that they were summoned to work in other cities. The great piazza at Perugia was paved by Sienese.¹

In Siena, as in Paris in the eighteenth century and Edinburgh in the nineteenth, it was a common thing for the housewife to throw her slops out of the window, a practice which must have seriously annoyed some of the night-roving dandies of Dante's *brigata spendereccia*. But in Siena this practice was only permitted at night-time, and in some of the streets it was altogether forbidden.² Moreover, a fine was rigorously exacted from any man or woman who threw any liquid out of the window without first shouting, "*Guarda!*"

But, although in the matter of cleanliness Siena was in advance of other cities, there were, as their names show, several dark, foul alleys, where deeds dark and foul were done. Such was that passage in the Valle Piatta where Pennuccio the baker lived. "Very dark it is of evenings," says the statute that ordered it to be closed—"very dark it is; and there are done in that place many vile, dishonest deeds; and cut-throats lie in wait there to assault and to slay people."³

At night the streets were dark and deserted. After nine no one was allowed to walk in the streets. There were no public lamps. Here and there a little yellow flame glowed in front of some picture of the Madonna. For the rest, all was obscurity and solitude.

If some Sienese of the Middle Ages were able, from the Osservanza or the Lizza, to catch a glimpse of his

¹ Zdekauer, *La vita privata dei Senesi nel dugento*, p. 36, note 2.

² Zdekauer, *Il costituito*, etc., Dist. III., CIII., CVII.

³ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Statuto dei Viari*, R. CCLXVIII., quoted by Zdekauer, *La vita pubb. dei Senesi nel dugento*, Siena, 1897, p. 36.

native city, nothing in the aspect of Siena would seem more strange to him than the fewness of its towers. In the thirteenth century each house of importance had its towers. There were so many of them, says Ugurgieri, that the city looked like a cane-brake. The destruction of this forest began in the sixteenth century, and has continued up to the present day.¹ San Gemignano—"San Gemignano of the Beautiful Towers"—gives us but a faint idea of the beauty of mediæval Siena as seen from the neighbouring hills. For ten times more numerous than are the towers of S. Gemignano to-day were the towers of Siena in the latter half of the thirteenth century.

The fountains played a most important part in the life of the city. They were not merely sources of water supply. Attached to them was a place for washing clothes and a public bath. They were, above all, favourite places of public resort. Thither went knights and muleteers, dyers and cloth-workers, tanners and wool-spinners. Thither went all the women of the neighbourhood, as well as the idlers and gallants. Under the shadow of their Gothic arches many a political debate was held. There, too, in the cool evening, lovers met. The oldest of these sources was Fontebranda.² And if the Sienese fountain is not Dante's Fontebranda, at least it is the Fontebranda of an older and more earthly contemporary of his. Thither

¹ The two principal periods of destruction were the years 1551 and 1798. In 1551, Mendoza pulled down many of the towers to build the imperial fortress. In 1798, after the terrible earthquake of that year, many of the remaining towers were destroyed. See the *Misc. Stor. Sen.*, vol. ii., 1894, Num. 2, pp. 17, 18, 19.

² Rossi, *Le iscrizioni romane del territorio senese*; in the *Bull. Sen. di Stor. Pat.*, ann. iv., fasc. i., pp. 148, 149. Petrucci, *Le acque in Siena*, Siena, 1894.



[Alinari]
THE MANGIA TOWER AS SEEN FROM THE ARCH OF S. GUISEPPE.
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came Cecco Angiolieri, the mad Cecco, to meet his lovely Becchina, the shoemaker's daughter.

Before concluding this brief survey of the outdoor life of the people of Siena, I must add a word upon their sports and games. The Sienese have always had a quite childlike devotion to feasting and amusements; and in the latter half of the thirteenth century when the city was full of wealth, and its inhabitants unsaddened by famine and faction, Siena was a joyous city. The pleasure-full life of the wealthy young Sienese of that age has been described by Folgore di S. Gemignano. The sonnets of that poet reveal to us that already, in the thirteenth century, chivalrous and monastic ideals had lost their hold on the upper classes. Pleasure is regarded by many as an end in itself. The young knight is content to make the best of this world. He does not spend his strength in seeking to win another by harrying the infidel and the heretic at the bidding of Mother Church. He does not wander forth, dream-led, on visionary quests.

There is hunting and hawking in the autumn. In the winter there are snow-ball fights in the palace court-yards. There are bright tournaments in the Great Piazza in the bright month of May. And on summer holidays the young men lie by the fountains in the shadow of the thick June foliage, and "pleasant ladies" bring them "solace there."

For the people, too, there were games in the Piazza del Campo. The most striking characteristic of these amusements was their brutality. The thirteenth century was an age of violence, and violent were its amusements. When the rulers of Church and State alike set an example of brutality and cruelty in the horrible

punishments they inflicted on those who broke their laws, it was little to be wondered at that the whole life of the people was full of violence. In such games as *Elmora*, or Staff-fight,¹ and the *Battaglia de' Sassi*, or Stone-fight, many citizens lost their lives every year.

The public sports of the Sienese may be ranged under three heads. There were mimic battles, ball-games, and races. The mimic battles included the tournament, for the knights, and *Elmora*, the *Battaglia de' Sassi* and *Pugna*, or Fist-fight, for the whole of the male population of the city. Of ball-games, the most important was *Pallone*, or Big-ball, a game distantly resembling our Rugby football, which became more popular after more violent games like *Elmora* had been prohibited. The Sienese horse-race was known as the *Palio*. The word ² *palio* itself simply means a banner; and a banner was the trophy presented to the victor in these contests. From an early date in the history of the city a *Palio* formed part of the festivities connected with the Feast of the Assumption, ever the most popular of Sienese festivals. But the early *Palio* was not run in the Piazza del Campo, as is the *Palio* of to-day. It probably took place on the public highway outside one of the city gates. It was not until 1603 that it was run in the Great Piazza.

I have briefly described the Constitution of Siena, her chief institutions, and the outdoor life of her

¹ *Elmora* was fought with wooden swords and lances. Although *Elmora* was prohibited by the Statute of 1262, it still continued to be played for thirty years afterwards.

² The first documentary allusion to the *Palio* of August is of the year 1238, but it was probably then an established institution. See Arch. di Stato Siena, *Lib. dei Pretori*, 1232-42, 137. For the history of the *Palio*, see Mr Heywood's *Our Lady of August and the Palio of Siena*, Siena, Torrini, 1899.

citizens. I propose, finally, to give some account of the interiors of their houses, of their furniture, their food, their dress.

We have already seen that the houses of the well-to-do burghers were becoming common in the streets of Siena. They were built with stone or brick, having a *loggia*, as a rule, on the uppermost storey. The decoration of the walls was geometrical and polychromatical. It was bright in colour, but it gave no restful spaces for the eye: it was noisy, barbaric, aggressively regular, like the music beloved by the half-civilised, with its blare of brass and its strongly-marked time. Those who can find nothing wrong in the art of the thirteenth century may profess a liking for this kind of decoration; but I do not think they would find it pleasant to live with. And to the unbiassed person of keen sensibilities, who, living in an age of noise, demands above everything else that a house shall be a place of rest, and shall invite repose, such a mode of ornamentation as that to be seen to-day in certain rooms in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, and the Villa Bardini, near Florence, is peculiarly irritative and offensive.

The beams of the ceiling were ornamented in a somewhat similar manner; but as these decorations were of finer pattern, and often in a somewhat lower key of colour, they were more pleasant and satisfying than those which covered the walls.

In private houses the windows were not as yet made of glass. They consisted of wooden frames with panels of sheepskin or linen made semi-transparent with oil. In all seasons except winter they were, as a rule, left open.

In winter, the houses were better heated than they

are to-day. Many a modern Tuscan fears a fire in a sitting-room as he fears the plague. He declares that it makes him feel ill. But in the thirteenth century the Sienese had other ideas of comfort. Folgore sings of

“Logs heaped mountain high and carpets stretched,”

and again of “mighty fires in hall.” In the early novelists, too, we frequently read of “good fires,” of “big fires.”¹ Any Englishman who has lived in Siena in the winter must have often regretted that the Sienese have departed from the habits of their forefathers.

Of the furniture of this period, beyond the *cassoni* and such objects of art as triptychs, pictures, and illuminated books, few genuine examples remain. A knowledge of it can only be obtained by the careful study of early paintings, and of wills and inventories. Throughout the thirteenth century the standard of comfort was gradually rising. The trade of Siena, and especially the trade with France, helped, as we have seen, the movement in the direction of luxurious living. Rich silks from the Orient, cloth of gold and other costly stuffs from France, and arras from Flanders were freely sold in the city. In Siena itself good cloth was made in large quantities. The manufacture of glazed earthenware, too, had already commenced, and was soon to become a considerable industry.² Plates and cups, bowls and jugs, as well as many of the cooking utensils, were made of this material. They were of Doric sim-

¹ Heywood, *Siena in the Days of Fra Filippo*, Siena, Torrini, 1901, pp. 51-53. Mr Heywood's learned monograph is full of interest to students of the social history of the Middle Ages.

² Fragments of early glazed earthenware have been found in Siena from time to time. Representations of vessels of this material may be seen in several early pictures. See Chapter XIX.

plicity, but possessing a delightful quality of earthiness, and often beautiful in form.

In the bed-chamber in a house of the middle class was a great bed flanked with curtains; a *cassone*, or marriage-chest, painted or carved, which held the best of the household linen; a long wide seat; a table, and a step, or *predella*, placed by the bed-side and of the same length as the bed itself, which sometimes was also made for use as a chest.

The Sienese, whilst having a higher standard of comfort than the English of that age, had the same views as to sleeping arrangements. They went to rest without nightshirts and always slept two or three in a bed. In habits of cleanliness, however, they were little behind their modern descendants. "Hand-washing before meals was hardly ever omitted; and, even in the thirteenth century, the custom of taking a bath daily, which had been introduced by the crusaders, was already becoming general among the men of the better classes."¹

In regard to the *cuisine* of old Siena we have full and exact information. Two Italian cookery books of the *Quattrocento*, containing, undoubtedly, receipts which were in use in the thirteenth century, have come down to us. Both of these books were written in Tuscany; and one of them is, at least in part, of Sienese origin. The receipts in it are complex and difficult, and reveal a high development of the culinary art.

In that age, as in the present, vegetables formed the basis of Tuscan cookery. The meat eaten consisted principally of game, pork, and lamb. Beef was very rarely seen on the table in Sienese houses. Most dishes were strongly flavoured with condiments. Pepper and ginger,

¹ Heywood, *Siena in the Days of Fra Filippo*, Siena, Torrini, 1901, p. 42.

cloves and saffron were much used ; as also was garlic " which was regarded," says Zdekauer, " as an exquisite and aristocratic vegetable." ¹

Even in the thirteenth century Siena was famous for her sweetmeats : *cavallucci*, then called *bericuocoli*, and *panforte* were already manufactured in the city.

In nothing was the growing luxuriousness of the Sienese more manifest than in the matter of dress. Their trade with France, a country which, in those days as in these, was the leader in the matter of feminine fashions in dress, tended to foster in the women of the city the love of splendid apparel. Already in 1262, the respectable male citizens sought the assistance of the State to check the extravagance of their womenkind. Then was prescribed by statute how many pearl buttons a lady might wear in her bodice, the length of her train, the quantity of rich scarlet cloth she might use in one gown, the amount of her gold and silver ornaments.

But the passion for self-adornment that had taken possession of the women of Siena was not to be suppressed, or even checked ; it continued to grow and grow. Fra Filippo of Lecceto, the author of *Gli Assempri*, writing a century and a half later, complains, with monkish severity, that " they fixed all their thoughts on the painting and adornment of their accursed, rotten bodies." ² Already in the *Trecento* they began to cut their dresses very low, like the Florentine women censured by Dante. Not content with heightening the attractiveness of their too-freely-revealed charms by the costliness and splendour of their dress, they made a most extravagant use of paints and powders, of dyes and

¹ Zdekauer, *La vita privata dei Senesi nel dugento*, p. 29.

² See Fra Filippo, *Gli Assempri*, Carpellini's edition, *Assempri*, iii., pp. 20-23. Heywood, *Siena in the Days of Fra Filippo*, p. 99.

washes. In a stinging sonnet, Cecco reveals to us the secret of his wife's toilet, and enumerates the cosmetics with which she sought to make herself lovely in the eyes of men. These feminine practices remained in vogue throughout the *Trecento* and the *Quattrocento*. San Bernardino never tired of denouncing the vanity of the Sienese women.¹ "Ye paint yourselves," he says, "more than any women that I know of. . . . See ye not that ye destroy yourselves and cause the men to hate you. Some there are of you whose mouths stink from this painting, some who reek of sulphur, some who daub yourselves with one thing and some with another; and all this stench ye force upon your husbands. How many there are of you whose teeth are decayed from so much painting? Bear in mind that this is the work of the Devil, to cause thee to come to an ill end, thee and thy husband with thee."²

The effect of the inordinate use of cosmetics was most disastrous. Sacchetti tells us that the most beautiful woman, if she used them, in a very short space of time faded like a flower and became prematurely old. It is sad to think that the women of Siena endured so much labour and discomfort, not with the legitimate object of winning husbands, for those who followed these practices were already married, but merely with the desire of satisfying personal vanity or illicit passion.

The Sienese girl of the upper and middle classes was kept in seclusion. She was not allowed to associate with men, not even with her own male rela-

¹ San Bernardino, *Le prediche volgari*, etc., vol. iii., pp. 205, 206.

² San Bernardino, *Le prediche volgari*, etc., vol. iii., p. 206. Quoted by Heywood, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

tions. Often she entered into formal and legal marriage with a man whom she had not seen until everything was arranged and the wedding-day was near at hand. In a society where the outward form of marriage was everything and the inward reality of it regarded as of little account, it is not to be wondered at that the standard of social morality was low, as it is, for the same reasons, in Rome and Madrid to-day.

And yet, in spite of rigid social rules, we know from the novelists that true love-matches were sometimes made even in the upper classes. We know, too, that there were women in all classes—beautiful in body as well as in mind, with that beauty which is still so lavishly given to the women of Siena—who scorned the use of cosmetics, and who sought only to allure their own husbands.

In the thirteenth century the proto-Renaissance had done but little to raise the position of women. Monastic and feudal ideas still hindered her advance. Even in the free cities the legal position of women was very inferior to that of men. Wife-beating, too, was common. The Church enjoined it. Preachers commended the corporal chastisement of wives, speaking of it as a marital duty, just as the Puritan divines did in a later age.¹ For seventeen centuries dogmatic Christianity pointed to the rod as a potent prophylactic for the waywardness of women.

But though the movement for the emancipation of woman was slow in development in Siena, as elsewhere, nevertheless, as we shall presently see, under the influence of the Renaissance it ultimately found a

¹ See my introduction to *Certain Tragicall Discourses*, by Geoffrey Fenton (Tudor Translations Series, London, D. Nutt, 1897), p. l.-lii.

home there.¹ Three centuries later the learning of the women of Siena aroused the admiration of a distinguished English visitor to the city.² And in her last struggle for liberty they played an active and honourable part.

Here must close this brief, incomplete account of the life of a citizen of old Siena in the thirteenth century. The great systems of the Middle Ages still held sway over the lives of men. But the movement of revolt had begun. It was in the free cities of Italy that it found its home. Siena played no inconsiderable part in its early history.

¹ Casanova's essay *La donna senese del Quattrocento nella vita privata* (in the *Bull. Sen. di Stor. Patria*, anno viii., 1901, fasc. i., pp. 3-93) is a learned and interesting monograph on the private life of the Sienese woman of the Renaissance.

² Hoby, *A book of the Travaile and lief of me, Thomas Hoby, with diverse things woorth the notinge*. A MS. diary in the British Museum, *Egerton MSS.* 2148, fol. 24.

CHAPTER IX

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE NINE

THE immediate result of the battle of Montaperti was that Ghibellinism was triumphant throughout Tuscany. The Florentine Guelphs fled their city without waiting for the arrival of Count Giordano and the *fuorusciti*, and took refuge in Lucca. The Ghibellines assumed the government of the republic. On November 13, a treaty was concluded between Florence and Siena, by which the former renounced all her claims to Montalcino, Montepulciano, Campiglia, Staggia, and Poggibonsi;¹ and within a few months the Sienese had taken possession of all these strongholds. Thus Siena secured all the more important positions to the north and south of her territory. Thus, at last, she held the keys of the great road to Rome.

Not content with humiliating the queen of Guelph cities, the Ghibellines² actually proposed that Florence should be razed to the ground; and this proposal would have been agreed to, but for the resolute opposition of Farinata degli Uberti. They succeeded, too, in forming a league which included Siena, Florence, Pisa, Prato, Pistoia, Colle, Poggibonsi, S. Gimignano, and S. Miniato. Of the Tuscan cities, only Lucca remained a secure asylum for the Guelphs.

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Caleffo Vecchio*, C. 367, 368, 368^b, and 369^a.

² Dante, *Inferno*, Canto x., 88-93.

Whilst these events were in progress, the Sieneſe had been excommunicated by Alexander. But the Pope died ſhortly afterwards, and the ſentence was not preſſed at firſt by his ſucceſſor. In fact, one great Sieneſe firm, the Buonsignori, continued to act as bankers and collectors to the Curia in England, France, and Germany. Both in the year 1261 and in the year 1262, they were appointed to receive the Peter's Pence and all other papal monies collected in England,¹ and as late as October 1263 we find them acting as the Pope's agents there. But it was not long before the excommunication began to affect the trade of Siena. Diſhoneſt debtors ſaw in it an excuſe for refuſing to pay what they owed to her merchants. Andrea Tolomei, writing from Troyes on September 4, 1262, tells of a certain "abbess of Provins" and others who had refuſed to reſtore a ſum due to his company "becauſe of the excommunication." "No one is willing," he complains, "to pay the Sieneſe that which they ought to receive." The Tolomei could no more buy from the Holy Father letters threatening eccleſiaſtical penalties to dilatory debtors. The ſame writer alſo declares that all his fellow-countrymen had left England, becauſe that "none of them had dared to remain there."

That the laſt ſtatement is ſomewhat of an exaggeration the *Papal Letters* prove.² Nevertheless, at the time Andrea wrote, the merchants of Siena had

¹ *Regesta*, vol. xxvii., 1 Urban IV., f. 3, f. 10 and f. 33. See *Calendar of Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by W. H. Bliss, D.C.L., published under the direction of the Maſter of the Rolls, *Papal Letters*, vol. i., pp. 380, 384-387.

² *Regesta*, vol. xxvii., 3 Urban IV., f. 41 d. See *Calendar of Papal Registers. Papal Letters*, vol. i., p. 386.

already suffered much because of the Ghibellinism of their fellow-countrymen. They were unable to obtain repayment of their loans. They were threatened with confiscation of their goods. Is it to be wondered at that the Tolomei and other great trading houses became ardent Guelphs?

And the partial withdrawal of papal patronage and protection was not the only cause of the decline in the trade of Siena. The profits her bankers gained by the exchange of money had already begun to decrease. Formerly they had made immense profits by giving in exchange for good silver, a small, handy coin, which contained a large portion of alloy. The Florentine companies had also made large sums of money by not very honest methods of exchange. But in course of time the clients of the Tuscan bankers discovered, one by one, the fraud that was being practised upon them, and the profits the Italians derived from the sale of bad coin gradually decreased. Then, in 1252, at a time when almost all other nations still coined only silver money, the Florentines began to issue their gold florin. This coin, being of convenient size and varying little in value, quickly became popular. The Florentines, finding that honesty was the best policy, were eager to rehabilitate the reputation of their coinage, and so maintained the purity of the florin. In the meantime many of the Sieneese bankers, on the other hand, persisted in trying to exchange their inferior coin for good silver. Thus the prestige of the Florentine bankers increased, whilst that of the Sieneese diminished.

After the middle of the century, Siena's trade in cloth had also commenced to decline, owing to the competition of Florence and to the scarcity of water

in the city. The Florentines, with the help of the Umiliati, a religious Order that specially interested itself in the development of the wool-trade of the city,¹ continually strove to improve the quality of their cloth, both by importing finer wools from Flanders, Spain, and Africa, and also by introducing improvements into their methods of manufacture. The Sienese woollen workers found it more and more difficult to keep pace with their rivals.

Another source of injury to the trade of Siena was the bitter party spirit that now began to manifest itself amongst her bankers and merchants. Ultimately this same evil ruined the trade of Florence also; but it was in Siena that it first seriously injured national prosperity.²

All these causes working together helped to bring about a general decline in trade. And in a popularly governed state a decline in trade always tends to weaken the party in power.

The difficulties of the Ghibelline Government were increased by an unfortunate incident that happened at this time. A young Sienese, Baroccino by name, whose father, Bencivenne Barocci, was one of the Twenty-four and a leading Ghibelline, was killed in a quarrel by two scions of noble families, Benuccio Salimbeni and Robba Renaldini. The Government, desiring, if possible, to inspire turbulent young aristocrats with a wholesome fear of their authority, saw to it that a most severe sentence was passed upon the offenders. The young men were condemned to perpetual banishment: the Salimbeni palace was

¹ Villari, *op. cit.*, vol. i., pp. 315-319.

² See Dr Casanova's review of Arias' *I Trattati Commerciali della Repubblica Fiorentina*, in fasc. iii. of the *Bull. Sen. di Stor. Patria* for 1901.

destroyed; a heavy fine was exacted; and Benuccio Salimbeni's father was imprisoned and manacled until the fine was paid. By such means the Twenty-four hoped to drive out the spirit of discord that was already troubling the city.

Their action, however, had an exactly opposite effect. The nobles resented the severity of this sentence passed upon members of their own order, and several of them made common cause with the enemies of the Republic. Amongst others, some of the Tolomei and the Salimbeni joined the ranks of the exiles.

The Guelph *fuorusciti* then occupied high-lying Radicofani, which, though so near to Siena, appertained to the States of the Church. It was not to be expected that the Sienese would tolerate the establishment of a hostile power in a strong position at so short a distance from the city. They determined, therefore, with the help of such German knights as were still with them, to drive out the exiles from their position. This they succeeded in doing, after a brief but severe struggle in which both victors and vanquished suffered heavy losses.

This invasion of the papal territory by the Sienese roused Urban IV to take decisive action. He withdrew his protection from the Sienese bankers and absolved their debtors from payment. He fined Siena 10,000 silver marks. And, when the Signory refused to pay, he endeavoured to get the money from those who owed sums to the Sienese merchants in England and France. In November 1263, he sent a mandate to Master Milo, the papal nuncio, to collect 4000 marks from persons in France and England who

owed money to Sienese firms, and to send half of that sum to the people of Radicofani and half to himself. And four months later he ordered the same nuncio to pay 6000 marks to a papal legate, on account of the citizens of Lucca, out of the total fine of 10,000 marks which he had said was to be collected from the debtors of merchants of the impenitent city.¹

Notwithstanding losses and discouragements, the Government stoutly adhered to its former policy. For once, whilst under the spell of an attractive, heroic sovereign, the majority of the citizens of Siena rose above merely mercantile considerations. For once, they were really very much in earnest in their Ghibellinism. With Provenzano Salvani as their leader, they bravely set to work to strengthen their position by bringing into more complete subjection the neighbouring feudal lords. Aldobrandino Aldobrandeschi was constrained to renew the treaty made by him in 1251, to complete the palace he had commenced to build within the city, and to pay a yearly tribute on the Feast of the Assumption. Similar terms were exacted from the Pannochieschi, the Visconti of Campiglia, and many less important lords. It seemed, indeed, as though Siena might yet weather the storm, notwithstanding the papal censure.

But early in 1266 there came a fatal blow to all

¹ *Regesta*, vol. xxvii., *Curial Letters*, f. 82, f. 84 and f. 89. See *Calendar of Papal Registers, Papal Letters*, vol. i., pp. 401, 402.

Since this chapter was written, I have read Dr Gino Arias' interesting books, *I trattati commerciali della Repubblica Fiorentina*, vol. i. (Florence, Le Monnier, 1901) and *Studi e Documenti di Storia del Diritto* (Florence, Le Monnier, 1901). Dr Arias does not deal fully with the relations of the Florentine and Sienese bankers with England; but such new documents as he prints confirm the conclusions I have arrived at. Dr Casanova's review of Dr Arias' book, in the *Bull. Sen. di Stor. Patria*, for 1901 (fasc. iii., pp. 461-481) is worthy of study.

her hopes. On 28th February of that year, Manfred, the *biaus chevalier, et preus, et sage*, was slain on the fateful field of Benevento. Villani—that arch-slanderer of Siena—relates that on seeing the serried ranks of the Florentine Guelphs, the king asked in anguish where were his own Tuscan followers. Both Villani and Collenuccio, the Neapolitan historian who repeats the story, have supplied, as Malavolti shows, disproof of their own statements. In describing the forces arrayed for battle on either side, they mention that the second wing of Manfred's army, which was under Count Giordano, was composed of Tuscan and Lombard Ghibellines, with some German knights.¹

In that bloody struggle the brave Tuscans were almost annihilated. For their commander a worse fate was reserved. Captured on the field of battle, he was taken two days later to identify Manfred's body. On seeing his lord's naked corpse—its beauty all marred by death and outrage—he cried out with anguish, "Oh, my master!" and covering his face with his hands the stark soldier wept bitterly.²

Cursed by the Popes as a pagan and an infidel, a poisonous dragon, a son of perdition, Manfred is placed, nevertheless, by the greatest of Catholic poets, not in hell, but in purgatory. There he appeared to Dante, with the aspect he had worn in his days of prosperity on earth, *biondo, e bello, e di gentil aspetto*, with a smile upon his beautiful face. The papal malediction, he said, had not availed to make him an outcast from the Love Eternal.³

¹ Villani, *Historie*, ed. cit., Lib. vii., cap. 7, p. 167.

² Malavolti, *Istoria di Siena*, Venezia, 1599, *Seconda Parte*, f. 31 to,

³ Dante, *Purg.*, Canto iii., 133, 134.

The defeat of the Ghibellines at Benevento stimulated the hopes of the Sieneſe exiles. They renewed the war with great vigour, and ſoon Montepulciano and other important ſtrongholds were in their hands. The deſpairing citizens of Siena entreated Frederick's grandſon, the young Conradin, to leave his German kingdom and to come to their aſſiſtance. Juſt at this time, Don Arrigo, the ſenator of Rome, declared for the Ghibellines. And, on December 1, 1267, an offeſive and deſenſive alliance was concluded between the Romans and the Ghibelline cities of Tuscany.

Before this treaty was ſigned, Conradin had entered Italy. In the following June, he came to Siena, and was honourably entertained there for nearly a month. After quitting the loyal Tuſcan town, he made his way direct to Rome. The people came out to meet him; and with much pomp, under floating banners, to the ſound of lyres and cymbals, the youthful king paſſed acroſs the bridge of S. Angelo and rode up the crowded ſtreets of the Eternal City. His hour of triumph was ſhort-lived. A month later he loſt all he had ſtriven for on the field of Tagliacozzo. And on October 29, 1268, the grandſon of the great Frederick, the laſt of his heroic race, perished on the ſcaffold at Naples.

The Ghibelline cauſe ſeemed to be doomed. But yet the Sieneſe remained faithful to their traditional policy. All hope, however, was loſt when their leader, Provenzano Salvani, was captured and beheaded after the diſaſtrous battle of Colle, fought on June 11, 1269.

The fall of the Twenty-four was the moſt important

consequence of the defeat and death of the greatest of Sienese Ghibellines. The Guelph exiles were recalled, and the government was placed in the hands of a council of thirty-six members of their party.

Thus the great merchants had their way. Ever since the excommunication of Siena they had been growing more and more lukewarm in their Ghibellinism. They were traders first and imperialists afterwards. And now, having learnt by experience what the withdrawal of papal patronage and protection meant, they were willing to renounce their principles, if by doing so they could recover their trade with England and France.

But the wealthy burghers who constituted the faction out of which developed the *Monte* of the Nine were not content with possessing a majority large enough to control the policy of the Republic. Full of party spirit they wished to rob the other classes of all political power, and to make themselves the undisputed rulers of the city. On May 28, 1277, they succeeded in effecting their purpose. It was resolved in the Council of the Bell that only "good merchants of the Guelph party" should henceforth be eligible for membership of the Thirty-six; and for well-nigh seventy years the councillors of the State were chosen only from the members of the dominant class.¹ The nobles and the lower orders were excluded from all participation in the government.

Force provokes force, violence leads to violence. Possessed by an inordinate love of power, the *Monte* of the Nine engendered in Siena that disease of Σπάσις, or faction, which, according to Aristotle, is the most

¹ The Council was reduced to fifteen members in 1280, to nine in 1285.

besetting malady of the city-state. Other factions arose bent on destroying the domination of the plutocracy. The nobility on the one hand, and the small traders and artisans on the other, became compact parties; whose aim, like that of the *Nove*, was not merely to attain to a predominant position, but to crush their rivals and to deprive them of the most important rights of citizenship.

Thus were definitely formed the first of those *Monti* or *Ordini*, the bitterness of whose party spirit was the chief, though by no means the only, cause of the decline of Siena. The evil went on increasing from generation to generation in this Corcyra of the West. The energies of the citizens were wasted in civil struggles. "Of all the world," says Geoffrey Fenton, in his version of the Sienese story of Anselmo Salimbeni and Angelica Montanini, "Italy is the only storehouse for civil factions, the market-place of tumultes and suborned troubles." And in no part of the peninsula did the madness of faction work more mischief to the State than in Siena.

Nor was the embittering of class struggles the only result of the action of the Nine. Ousted from the conduct of public affairs, many of the nobles occupied their time in carrying on family feuds, whilst others joined the ranks of the companies of mercenaries which were then beginning to harass unhappy Italy. Without military leaders, the citizens devoted themselves more and more exclusively to the acquisition of wealth. The military spirit died out amongst them. They became incapable of conducting warfare. They ceased to value the prestige of the State. All that they desired was peace, peace at any price.

The ideals of the merchant oligarchy were immortalised by Ambrogio Lorenzetti. On the walls of the Sala della Pace, he gave artistic form to what the Nine wished to think of their own rule, and of its effects upon Siena and her *contado*. The whole composition is a tract, written in *buon fresco*, with the object of glorifying the plutocratic régime. Its chief ethical quality is its smug self-righteousness. It is impossible, in fact, for any one to be as good and noble as the devout capitalist appears to himself to be, or as he is represented to be by his sycophants.

Whilst denouncing their aristocratic opponents as the friends of tyranny, it never seems to have occurred to the Nine and their supporters that they themselves were tyrants, and tyrants of the worst kind. For their arbitrary dealing was not confined only to political matters; it made itself felt in every department of life, in social and business relations as well as in public affairs. The acquisition of wealth was the one aim of the dominant party. When war came, the Government, therefore, was unprepared. Like the other Italian States which had disfranchised their nobility and had devoted all their energies to money-making, Siena was compelled to buy the services of mercenaries. Like the citizens of the other Italian States, too, the enervated Sienese had no means of exercising control over the *condottieri* they employed. Consequently, their servants soon became their masters. The hired armies roamed about the peninsula at their will, living on the people, and levying blackmail everywhere from the feeble *bourgeois* governments.

Full of an indiscriminating and unchastened love of peace, the new rulers made a close alliance with



PEACE—DETAIL FROM THE FRESCO, THE GOOD GOVERNMENT OF SIENA
(Ambrogio Lorenzetti,)

[*To face p. 142.*



INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF SAN ANTIMO.

[*Alinari.*

[*To face p. 142.*

Florence. No step could well have been more short-sighted, more suicidal. Three measures were required at that time to save Siena from sinking to the level of a fourth-rate power. In the first place, it was necessary for the development of her manufactures that the city should have a good water-supply. Secondly, her Government ought to have acquired or have constructed a good port not difficult of access, and to have encouraged in every possible way the growth of a mercantile navy. Thirdly, Siena ought to have made a close and durable alliance with Pisa, with the object of preventing Florence from obtaining free access to the sea. The first and second of these measures the Nine, in an inadequate, unsatisfactory way, attempted to carry out. They made some new fountains in the city, and vainly strove, as their predecessors had done, to find the fabled stream, the Diana. They also bought the port of Talamone from the monks of S. Antimo. But, in place of contracting an alliance with Pisa, they united themselves with the Florentines. And for a long time Siena was content to be the catspaw of her astute rival. Instead of lessening in this way the ill effects of their commercial rivalry with the neighbouring republic, they only increased them, by augmenting the facilities for the expansion of Florentine trade.

At first, results seemed to justify the policy of the Nine. The city grew rapidly in wealth. Even the failure of the *Grande Tavola*, the great Buonsignori Company, in 1304 did not at the time seriously affect her commercial position.¹ The borders of the Republic

¹ It was not until 1344 that the Papacy instituted an action to recover the sums due to the Holy See. The chief causes of the failure of the Buonsignori were (a) the competition of Florentine houses, (b) disagreements amongst the partners. See Arias, *Studi e Documenti*, pp. 4-19, p. 31, Doc. I.

were extended, and the country districts rendered more secure, nor did the coming of Dante's great hero, "the last representative of the all-embracing imperial ideal," shake the position of the Guelph Government, or awaken in the Sienese the dead enthusiasms of a nobler generation. Henry VII had little money, a capital crime in a sovereign in the eyes of well-to-do burghers. Whatever fears the citizens had when the Emperor drew near to their walls, were soon dispelled. He passed on, disappointed that the city was not betrayed to him, only to die at Buonconvento, sixteen miles away.

Fortune seemed to favour the members of the dominant faction. They had found a faithful ally in Robert of Anjou, King of Naples. Their one powerful enemy, Uguccone della Faggiola, lord of Lucca and Pisa, leader of the Tuscan Ghibellines, was compelled to fly from Tuscany because of an insurrection in the cities whose lordship he had just acquired. But the natural results of the domestic policy of the Nine had already begun to show themselves. The nobles, having no legitimate outlet for their energies, fell to quarrelling amongst themselves. On April 17, 1315, there was a great battle between the Salimbeni and the Tolomei. The whole city was in arms. The government determined upon decided action. They placed a lighted candle in the window of the Palazzo della Signoria, and made a proclamation, that if the Salimbeni and the Tolomei had not come thither and laid down their arms before the candle was consumed, their goods and persons would be forfeited.¹

¹ *Frammento di una cronachetta senese d'anonimo del secolo xiv*; Siena, Sordo-muti, 1893, pp. 15, 16. Malavolti says it was April 16. See Malavolti, *ed. cit.*, Seconda Parte, p. 75.



PALAZZO TOLOMEI, SIENA.

[*Alinari.*

[*To face p. 144.*

Thus threatened, the Tolomei and the Salimbeni submitted, and agreed to make peace. But the *vendetta* between the two families was not really abandoned. It was but one early manifestation of that disease of *stasis* which was poisoning the life-blood of the State, and paralysing its energies. For many years this feud continued periodically to disturb the city. Nor were the Tolomei content with attacking their old commercial rivals; they conspired more than once, with some of the lesser guilds, to overthrow the Government. In 1318, the notaries and the butchers, who were in league with the Tolomei, broke into insurrection. Crying out "Death to the Nine!" they rushed into the Great Piazza and attacked the Palazzo Pubblico. They were beaten back and chased from the Campo. The palace of M. Deo Gucci de' Tolomei was destroyed by the Government. Several of the butchers were beheaded.

The Nine were easily victorious in their first conflict with the excluded classes, but they were unable to preserve peace in the city. The Salimbeni and Tolomei continued their fierce blood-feud; and in the year 1314 the latter again united with the butchers in an unsuccessful revolt.

At last, in the year 1326, realising the inability of the Nine to keep order in the city, the Senate, in a special assembly, agreed to summon to their aid a foreign ruler. Greatly alarmed at the victorious progress of Castruccio Castrucane, lord of Lucca, the Florentines had sought the help of the Duke of Calabria, son of King Robert of Naples, and had given him the lordship of their city for ten years. The Sienese now offered to the same prince the right of electing their *potestà* for five years,

on condition that he agreed to obey their laws.¹ The Duke assented to their proposals, and on his coming to the city with a considerable force the Salimbeni and the Tolomei agreed to make peace.

But the tranquillity thus gained was not of long duration. In 1328, the Duke died, and in the same year there was a great famine which afflicted the whole of Italy. Tumult and pestilence came in the train of famine. The wretched people, maddened by hunger, plundered the shops in the Piazza, and beat at the doors of the Palazzo della Signoria, demanding bread. The Nine hanged several of the rioters, but they did little themselves to remedy the sufferings of the poor. Had it not been for the public-spirited action of the rector of the Hospital, M. Giovanni di Tese Tolomei, the mortality from the famine and the plague that followed it would have been very great.

After these troubles, Siena, as usual, showed extraordinary recuperative power. Internal conflicts and commercial failures, famine and pestilence did not avail to destroy her wonderful vitality. In the two decades that followed the great famine, her merchant princes amassed money very quickly. The wealth of the Salimbeni was enormous. Agnolo di Tura tells us that in 1337 the steward of that great house divided 100,000 gold florins of income amongst the sixteen families composing it.² In the following year, the Salimbeni imported silk to the value of 130,000 gold florins; and so prosperous were the citizens that in a few months it was all sold.

¹ Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script*; Tom. xv., *Cronica Senese di Andrea Dei e Agnolo di Tura*, p. 95 note.

² Malavolti, *ed. cit.*, Seconda Parte, Libro Quinto, p. 85.



THE PALAZZO SALIMBENI, SIENA.

[*Alinari.*

[*To face p. 146.*

Nor, in the period of the ascendancy of the Nine, were the riches of the Sienese merchants expended only on private objects. With the increase of wealth in the city, luxury on the one hand, and miserliness on the other, grew apace. But there were still some citizens who gave lavishly to promote important public projects. Both the Cathedral and the Hospital profited greatly by the gifts and legacies of rich bankers and traders, who were wont in old age, or on their deathbeds, to compound in this way for unjust dealing and for the sin of usury. With the growth of a wealthy and leisured class, the arts flourished more and more. Giovanni Pisano, who had come as a youth to Siena to help his father in the making of the great pulpit, was summoned to return to the city in 1284 to oversee the construction of a new façade for the Duomo.¹ A school of painting sprang up in Siena whose masters received important commissions from the Government. Duccio painted his great altar-piece for the Cathedral, whither it was borne in solemn procession to the sound of drums and trumpets and pipes, followed by a great company of priests and friars, by the members of the government of the *Nove*, and the officers of the Commune.² Simone Martini's exquisite art made beautiful the walls of the Sala del Mappamondo in the Palazzo della Signoria. Ambrogio Lorenzetti adorned with consummate illustrations the Sala della Pace. A painter, Lippo Memmi, was asked to furnish a design for the completion of the tower of the Palace.³ Finally,

¹ Giovanni Pisano's façade was taken down less than a century later, when the cathedral was enlarged. See Chap. XVI.

² June 9, 1310.

³ Lisini, *Chi fu l'architetto della Torre del Mangia?*—in the *Misc. Stor. Sen.*, vol. ii, (1894), p. 131.

in 1339, the Sienese decided to erect a cathedral larger and more magnificent than any in Italy, making of the choir and nave of the then existing Duomo the transepts of the new building.

But the splendid vesture of her art could not conceal the diseases from which the State was suffering. The public works initiated by the Government owed their importance to the fact that in those earlier decades of the fourteenth century there was an immense amount of surplus wealth in the city. There was, in truth, little self-sacrificing public spirit amongst the citizens. The offerings of pious individuals to the Opera del Duomo rather diminished than increased. For sixty years, avarice and luxury had been steadily on the increase amongst the wealthier members of the dominant class. Already in the earlier period of the rule of the Nine, Pecksniffian misers, like Cecco Angiolieri's father, had joined a certain lay order, the Frati Gaudenti, in order to escape the necessity of giving a portion of their time to the public service.¹ And spendthrift children took the place of avaricious parents. The sons of successful merchants spent upon sport, and women, and costly fare, the money their toilsome fathers had accumulated. Dante's *brigata spendereccia* made the walls of the city re-echo with their wanton revelry. The joyous songs of Provence were heard in the streets, and "the sound of German music" floated "on the air." In Folgore da San Gemignano's *Sonnets of the Months*, we have twelve pictures of the splendid, luxurious life of the young plutocrats of Siena. They spent their days joyously in the satisfaction of the lust of the flesh,

¹ D'Ancona, *Cecco Angiolieri da Siena*, in *Studi di Critica e Storia Letteraria*, pp. 113-119, Malavolti, *ed. cit.*, Seconda Parte, Libro Terzo, f. 51, t.



PALAZZO BUONSIGNORI, SIENA.

[Alinari.]

[To face p. 148.]

the lust of the eye, and the pride of life. The youth of the city had left far behind the ideals of the Middle Ages. In the thirteenth century, the ideal of the Greek city-states, the civic ideal, had indeed, for a short time, taken the place of the knightly and chivalrous ideals of the preceding age. But its triumph was short-lived. The members of the wealthier classes soon began to devote themselves, for the most part, to the accumulation of wealth or to the unrestrained pursuit of pleasure. They became more and more oppressive, more and more regardless of the well-being of the poorer citizens, more and more wasteful and wanton in their luxury. At last, a series of catastrophes, overwhelming, irresistible, turned their songs to lamentations. During the four years that followed the year 1341, nearly thirty Florentine companies became bankrupt, and many of the Guelph merchants of Siena were involved in their ruin. The Holy See, which had also suffered loss through the financial crisis in Florence, now demanded from the Buonsignori an enormous sum of money which had been owing to the Curia since the failure of the *Grande Tavola* forty years before. On failing to get it, the Pope, in the year 1345, placed Siena under an interdict. But the worst calamity was yet to come. On one bright day in spring, a gaunt spectre passed down the streets of Siena and knocked at the doors of many proud palaces.

It was in the summer of 1347 that the Black Death first showed itself in Italy. Genoa was its earliest victim. It was said by the Tuscans that God had sent the plague to the Genoese because they had helped the Turks

to massacre Christian men.¹ But, in truth, this new and awful scourge was not discriminating. It soon attacked the Sienese and the Florentines with even greater severity than it had used to the godless Ligurians. From May to October of 1348² the mortality was so great that many died unshriven and without the Viaticum. Nay! the living did not suffice to bury the dead. And those who did find a sepulchre received but a shallow one, and "were buried like dogs, without any office." "And in many parts of the city," says Agnolo di Tura, "very wide trenches were made, and in these they placed the bodies, throwing them in and covering them with but a little earth. After that they put in the same trench many other bodies, and covered them also with earth, and so they laid them layer on layer until the trench was full. And I, Agnolo di Tura called Grasso, buried five of my children in one trench with my own hands, and many others did the like. And some of the dead there were that were so ill covered that the dogs unearthed them and ate many bodies. . . . And the bells rang not, and no one wept however great was his loss; for every one thought his own death to be nigh at hand. And so went the matter that no one thought that a single soul would survive. And many men believed and said: This is the end of the world."³

Agnolo tells us that 80,000 persons perished in Siena and its neighbourhood. Another chronicler relates that 65,000 died in the city itself, and that only 15,000 remained alive there.

At first the frightened survivors were filled with thoughts of religion. They sought to appease the

¹ Agnolo di Tura, *ed cit.*, col. 105, 111. ² Agnolo di Tura, *ed. cit.*, col. 122.

³ Agnolo di Tura, *ed. cit.*, col. 123.

wrath of God and to gain the favour of the Virgin by offerings. Much money was given to the churches. A chapel dedicated to the city's Protectress was commenced at the foot of the great tower of the Palazzo della Signoria, and many other oratories were raised in different parts of the city. But when the danger was well past, the inevitable reaction set in. "The people who had escaped the plague," we are told, "all made merry, and recked of nothing but to live joyously. . . . And they gave themselves up to pleasure and feasting. For to each one it seemed as though he had regained the world."¹

Meanwhile, amidst the general disintegration of society in the years following the visitation of the plague, the Nine were less competent than ever to maintain their authority over the disenfranchised classes, and to preserve order in the city. A period of bad trade had caused widespread discontent, and had seriously weakened the position of the dominant *Monte*. The nobles pursued their lawless ways unchecked. Homicides and outrages were frequent. The corrupt and arbitrary government of the rich burghers was tottering to its fall. In 1355 the end came.

In the spring of that year the Emperor Charles the Fourth arrived at Siena. A cold-blooded person, without ambition, without ideals, without enthusiasm, the grandson of Dante's great hero had come to Italy to gain money rather than honour. The nobles, therefore, easily persuaded him to give his support to the party of revolt. Having arrived at a secret understanding with the Emperor, they united with the

¹ Agnolo di Tura, *ed. cit.*, col. 124, 125.

common people in a successful attack on the Palazzo della Signoria. The Nine were expelled. The Priors of the greater Arts and their followers were hunted like wild beasts through the streets of the city. "No man pitied them," says the chronicler; "all spoke ill of them." The government of the State was placed in the hands of a magistracy of twelve citizens, chosen principally from amongst the small traders of the town. At the same time it was provided that the nobles should elect another council of twelve, to be called the College, which body the supreme magistracy were to consult on certain specified matters.

The change of government merely aggravated the evils from which the State was suffering. The Twelve, like those who had preceded them, regarded only the interests of one of the *Monti*, and soon were nothing more than representatives of the lower middle class. They sought only to promote the welfare of that class, and to injure the wealthier burghers. The system of exclusion initiated by the Nine was adopted by their successors. The strife between the rival *Ordini* grew keener and keener. Patriotism seemed dead amongst the Sienese. All were for a party, and none were for the State.

CHAPTER X

THE TWELVE AND THE REFORMERS

FOR seventy years Siena had been governed by the wealthy burghers. An oligarchy of small tradesmen had then succeeded the oligarchy of the new nobility. The change was not for the better. The most injurious features of the policy of the Nine were adopted, and exaggerated by the new Government. It has been said of a modern political party, drawn from a similar class, that its members "were touched not so much with love of the many as with hatred of the few; that they were Radicals merely because they themselves were not lords." Such a sneer might justly have been levelled against the Order of the Twelve in Siena. Once having won its way to power, it showed itself more arrogant, more arbitrary, more regardless of the well-being of the whole commonwealth than its predecessors. And cruelty and selfishness were not the only qualities of the new régime. Its besetting sin was the deadliest of any to which a government can be prone: it was weak and incapable to the last degree. The Twelve were the worst of the rulers that ever held sway over this ill-governed State.

And, unfortunately for Siena, there was never a time in her history when a strong government was more needed than in the latter half of the fourteenth century. Italy was then reaping the consequences of the

exclusion of the nobles from all political power, and of the consequent decay of the martial spirit. The country was overrun by bands of foreign mercenaries, barbarous Germans and brutal English, whom the enervated communes were unable either to crush or control. Summoned to Italy to help them in their quarrels, by the Pope and the Visconti, the Venetians and the Florentines, they remained there to batten on the unfortunate inhabitants. In vain did Petrarch¹ appeal to the Italians to take up arms and drive out these new barbarian invaders. The *condottieri* established throughout the peninsula a reign of lawlessness and cruelty.

On news of their advance towards the borders of an Italian State the rulers of it were accustomed to send horsemen to warn the inhabitants of the threatened locality, bidding them reap quickly their crops, ripe or unripe, and bear them away to the nearest stronghold. Watchmen were then set on the church towers, and scouts were posted on the neighbouring hills. When the robber host was sighted, the bells of the *campanili* gave warning to the whole country-side. Then the terrified peasants hurriedly collected their cattle, and drove them to the fortress; and gathering fruit and corn, as well as they could, they conveyed them also within its sheltering walls. Following the flocks and herds and laden mules, there toiled along groups of women bearing whatever of their poor household goods they were able to carry, with weeping, frightened children clinging to their skirts.

Then, like a pack of wolves, the invading company ravaged the whole district. Without pity, without

¹ Petrarch, *Le Rime*, Milan, 1805, vol. i., Canzone 29, pp. 109-112.

mercy, boasting shamelessly that plunder was their trade, and murder and outrage their pastimes, the invaders turned the fair southern landscape into a dismal wilderness. There accompanied them a throng of creatures of even a lower type than themselves—thieves, and pimps, and outlaws, and many obscene wretches, tigresses in human form, drunk with blood and rapine, yet insatiate, ever lusting for gore and loot.

Having ravaged or devoured all that they could, the mercenaries were accustomed to complete their work by setting fire to house and barn. Then, if their sheltering fortress had escaped capture, the peasants, seeing the smoke of their ruined homesteads rising to heaven, knew by that sign that the object of the invader was accomplished, that the Anglo-Saxon or the German had done his worst, and had gone his way to seek for other prey. Issuing from his retreat, the *contadino* returned to the blackened ruin that was once a home, and the desert that was once a cornfield or a vineyard.

The remoter consequences of these raids were even more injurious to the State than their immediate results. Nobles of the baser sort, taking advantage of the general confusion, returned to their old habits of plunder. There was no strong hand now to control them as there had been in earlier days. Gradually the reign of law and order ceased in the country districts.

Robbed of the rewards of their toil, subjected continually to loss and outrage, poverty-stricken and dispirited, the peasantry flocked in ever-increasing numbers to the towns to swell the ranks of the

unemployed. Large tracts of country fell out of cultivation. Wild beasts roamed unchecked in the deserted fields. Hungry wolves bore off young children almost from the very gates of the city.

It was in 1342 that Siena had first been molested by one of these companies.¹ Its leader was that Werner of Uerslingen, on whose breast-plate was engraved his self-bestowed title: "The Enemy of God, of Pity, and of Mercy." The Captain of War had sought to rouse the citizens to resistance, and, as a warning to cowards and laggards, he had placed a block and an axe at the Camollia Gate. But much as the trader of Siena loved his money, he preferred parting with some of it to risking his life in open battle. Following the pernicious example set them by other cities, the Nine had bribed the marauders to leave their territory.

The Italian States were terribly punished for such exhibitions of pusillanimity. Warlike, impecunious nobles, and needy adventurers who could ride a horse and use a sword, discovered that a new and profitable trade was open to them. Like a certain class of itinerant musicians of our own day, they realised that if only they took care to make themselves thoroughly obnoxious to the inhabitants of the locality they visited, they would be paid to go away.

Ten years later the *condottiere*, Fra Moriale, extorted, in the same way, 13,324 florins from the Sienese. After the triumph of the Twelve, the invasions of these Companies became more frequent and more disastrous. The Count of Landau, the treacherous Hans of

¹ Lisini, *Provvedimenti economici della Repubblica di Siena nel 1332*, Siena, Torrini, 1895, p. xviii.

Bongard, known to the Italians as Anichino, the Company of the Hat, the Company of St George—all in turn invaded the territory of the Republic.¹

Once only did the Sienese show any of their old courage. On the 6th of October, 1363, the citizen-bands, under the leadership of a member of the great house of Orsini, attacked and defeated the Company of the Hat—a Company whose members were, for the most part, Bretons—and captured its leader, Niccolò of Montefeltro. A representation of this battle is to be seen on the walls of the Sala del Mappamondo in the Palazzo Pubblico.

But this victory did not avail Siena much. In the following year, both the White Company, composed largely of English, and Anichino and his cruel band, invaded her *contado*, burning and plundering on all sides. In 1364, and again in 1365 and 1366, Sir John Hawkwood ravaged some portion of the Sienese territory. In vain did the Republic bribe the leaders of the Companies to quit its borders and to pledge themselves to leave the country unpillaged for a term of years. The bribe was taken and the promise not kept. The Sienese had no means of redress.

Pope and Emperor sought in vain to relieve unhappy Italy of this scourge. On April 11, 1366, Urban V issued a bill of excommunication against the Companies.² He offered plenary absolution to all who would help to extirpate them.³ The *condottieri* greeted

¹ Professione, *Siena e le compagnie di ventura*, Civitanove-Marche, 1898.

² Ricotti, *Storia delle compagnie di ventura in Italia*, Turin, 1844, vol. ii., pp. 146-150.

³ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Riformagioni*, April 11, 1366, n. 1773,

his fulminations with derision. Urban then endeavoured to form a league of the Italian cities to combat the common enemy, and a congress was summoned to meet at Florence under the presidency of the Papal legate. This effort also failed. The jealous Florentines, with their usual perversity, protested against the Emperor being allowed to join the association, and Urban's good intentions were frustrated.¹

Powerless to protect the *contado* from the ravages of the merchant companies, the *Dodici* were almost as incapable of preserving peace and order within the city's walls. Scenes of blood and violence were of frequent occurrence. Family fought against family, household against household. The ruling faction, under the influence of temporary panic, acted with the irrational brutality that frequently characterises the conduct of weak men when they have been thoroughly frightened. The Twelve had no other object than to promote what they conceived to be the interests of their own class.

After thirteen years of misrule, the Twelve were driven from power. On 2nd September 1368, the nobles, with a large following, attacked the Palace. Expelling the *Dodici* they put in their place a government consisting of ten of their own order and three members of the *Monte* of the Nine. This was but the first of a series of revolutions which followed each other in rapid succession. In the last four months of 1368 no less than four Governments occupied the Palace in turn. The artisans, the *popolo minuto*, now

¹ Professione does not mention Urban's difficulties with Florence, and fails to comprehend the cause of the failure of the Papal plans. See Gregorovius, *ed. cit.*, vi. 421.

for the first time took a prominent part in political contests. Combining with the Twelve and the Salimbeni, they expelled the aristocratic magistracy; and, on September 24, they set up a mixed government, consisting of three of the *Noveschi*, four *Dodicini*, and five representatives of their own order. Growing stronger and more confident, the new democratic *Monte*—to which was given the name *Riformatori*—determined to have a magistracy composed entirely of members of its own class. And so, on December 11, with the help of Malatesta, the imperial general then in Siena, the Reformers established in the Palace a government of “Fifteen Defenders,” drawn entirely from the *popolo minuto*. On hearing, however, that the faction of the Twelve was plotting with the Emperor to secure their overthrow, the *Riformatori* very wisely determined to broaden the basis of their government. On December 16 they dismissed seven of their own number from the Fifteen, and recalled to the Palace the four representatives of the *Dodicini* and the three *Noveschi* who were included in the previous Ministry. The Government thus constituted, consisted of eight members of the *Monte* of the Reformers, four of the Twelve, and three of the Nine; and it was provided that the Captain of the People, and the Standard-bearers of the *Terzi* of the city should be drawn from the new Order.

The new Government cherished nobler aims than any of its predecessors. It sought to unite in one supreme magistracy the members of various parties, to limit proscription, to subdue the spirit of faction, and to give peace to the State. Whoever dared to raise any of the party war-cries, whoever shouted

“Death to the people!” “Death to the Nine!” or “Death to the Twelve!” was to be punished impartially. The old names of the *Monti* were to be abolished, and the three chief class factions were to be styled the People of the Lesser Number, the People of the Middle Number, and the People of the Greater Number. Even the nobles were allowed to take office by the Reformers: only the supreme magistracy was denied them.

But the political diseases of Siena were beyond cure. Scarcely had the new Government established itself in office, before the Twelve and the Salimbeni again plotted insurrection. Moreover, the conspirators secured the co-operation of the Emperor who just at that time visited Siena on his return from Rome. On the pretext that they merely wished to remove from the Government those of its members who belonged to the Order of the Nine, they attacked the Palace. Charles himself came to their support with 3,000 knights.

At this menace some of the old spirit of Siena revived. The Signory caused the bells to sound to summon the people to arms. The citizens came together from all quarters. Many of the Emperor’s guard were slain. The Salimbeni took to flight. The three members of the Nine who had been forced to leave the Palazzo della Signoria were brought back with great rejoicing.¹

Meanwhile, Charles, who had taken refuge in the Salimbeni palace, was crying with rage and fear. Hysterically embracing and kissing whoever of the victors approached him, he assured them that he

¹ Neri di Donato, *Cronica*; in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, vol. xv., col. 206,

had been deceived and betrayed by the Salimbeni and the Twelve. Finally, in consideration of a handsome payment, he made the Fifteen Defenders his vicars in Siena and its territory, and then left the city.

The rebels had been beaten. An Emperor had been humiliated. But the Reformers were unable to subdue entirely the Salimbeni and their faithful allies, the small traders. There were continual disturbances within the city, and the country districts were subjected to frequent raids, made by exiled nobles, or merchant companies. The spirit of violence even invaded the cloister. "At S. Antonio," says Neri di Donato, "the Augustinians slew their provincial with a dagger. In Siena also, they had a great conflict, and one young friar . . . killed another friar, a son of M. Carlo Montanini. . . . The brothers of the Rosa at Siena fought together and drove away seven of their number. Those of the Certosa also had great dissensions and their General came to them, and transferred them all. And so it seemed that all the religious in every place were given up to strife and disagreement amongst themselves. In the same manner, everywhere, there were divisions, mortal quarrels and riots. . . . In Siena no one kept faith—neither the gentlemen with the members of their own class or with others, nor the Twelve amongst themselves or with others, nor the people perfectly amongst themselves or with others. And so everywhere was darkness."

Commercial depression was the result of internal strife and the interminable raids of the merchant companies. Some of the best of the citizens wasted

a large part of their energies in family *vendette* or in faction fights. At the same time some considerable portion of the wealth which their forefathers had accumulated in the fairs of Champagne and in the marts of London and Paris, went to meet the insatiable demands of the *condottieri*. At first the Sienese had tried several means of getting rid of their enemies. They had sought to kill Fra Moriale and his followers by poisoning their provisions. They had endeavoured to overcome by craft those whom they could not vanquish by force. They had attempted, as we have seen, to form combinations with other harassed States. But all these failing, they soon came to look upon money payments as the only means of keeping away the invading armies. In this way, in but little more than twenty years, they expended more than 275,000 florins in bribing their tormentors, besides giving them large quantities of cattle, horses and provisions. Money thus becoming scarce: commercial enterprise in the city was paralysed; and many artisans were thrown out of work.¹

Commercial depression, as it so often has done, aggravated political discontent and tended to weaken the position of the Government. In the winter of 1369-70 there was a great scarcity of flour. There was also a labour dispute in the wool-trade, the most important of Sienese industries. The competition of Florence, and Siena's scarcity of water, had seriously affected this industry. Rightly or wrongly, the artisans held that they had to bear more than their proper share of the consequences of decreasing trade. With the

¹ Lisini, *Provvedimenti economici della Rep. di Siena nel 1382*, Siena, Torrini, 1895, p. xxviii.

object of enforcing their claims upon the masters, the wool-workers who dwelt round about the Porta Ovile formed themselves into an association which they called the Company of the Caterpillar, after the name of the *Contrada* which they inhabited. On July 14, 1371, the members of this company, maddened by hunger, broke into rebellion.¹ They sacked the houses of many wealthy citizens and, after being reinforced by the more democratic wing of the party of the Reformers, they stormed the public palace, driving from it the seven members of the Government who did not belong to the *popolo minuto*. For some days violence ruled in the city. Ultimately, the three *Noveschi* were allowed to return. But the places of the four representatives of the Twelve were given to four members of the lower class.

The change did not in any way strengthen the Government. The Reformers strove bravely against the difficulties of their position, but without success. The disease of *stasis* had become chronic, and every fresh revolution only aggravated it. The tumults within the city were more frequent than ever. Still did the Salimbeni and the other exiled nobles ravage the *contado*.² Plague came in the wake of famine. Everywhere was want and disorder and violence.

¹ Malavolti, *ed. cit.*, Seconda Parte, p. 141^b.

² Neri di Donato, *ed. cit.*, col. 224.

CHAPTER XI

ST CATHERINE OF SIENA

IT was to an age full of strife and violence and hatred, to a city mad with the disease of faction, that St Catherine came preaching love and peace. A young girl of humble parentage became the counsellor of popes and princes, addressing to them letters as beautiful in style as they are full of wisdom and charity.

St Catherine was not the only Sienese saint of the Quattrocento. Siena has always been a place of violent contrasts. In that age it was at once the most turbulent town in Italy, the home of discord and restlessness, and the city of saints, winning for itself the title of "the Antechamber of Paradise." Here, in the early years of the century, lived the Blessed Bernardo Tolomei, the founder of the Congregation of Monte Oliveto. Here dwelt, too, Giovanni Colombini, a wealthy merchant, who, after occupying the highest magistracies of the State, gave up everything to preach the Gospel to the poor, becoming the founder of the "*Poveri Gesuati*," the knights of Jesus Christ. Here dwelt the Blessed Pietro Petroni, the Carthusian, and Fra Filippo, the author of *Gli Assempri*.¹ Here, too, grew to manhood San Bernardino, who was destined to become, in the following age, the greatest preacher of Italy.

¹ For Fra Filippo the best authority is Heywood's *The Ensamples of Fra Filippo: a Study of Mediæval Siena*, Siena, Torrini, 1901.



CHURCH OF SAN DOMENICO, SIENA.

[*Alinari.*

[*To face p. 164.*



[Alinari.]

PORTRAIT OF ST CATHERINE.
In the Church of San Domenico, Siena (Andrea Vanni).

[To face p. 164.]

St Catherine first saw the light in 1347. Her father was a dyer of Fontebranda. The future saint was one of a family of twenty-five children. The hagiographers recount the usual legends about her infancy and early years, as well as some stories that are peculiarly painful to those who regard with alarm whatever tends to propagate insidious nervous and mental diseases; and who could treat as enemies of humanity those who teach the young to look upon manifestations of hysteria, catalepsy, and other maladies, as the necessary concomitants of sanctity. He who wisely loves St Catherine will not dwell upon these stories, if he does not try to forget them. He will think with admiration of her untiring efforts to heal the wounds of Christendom and to raise the standard of public and private morality, to lead Christians to cease devouring each other, and to work together for the common good.

Whilst still a very young child, St Catherine became greatly attached to the Church of San Domenico at Siena, and to the order to which that church belonged. Crowning the hill above her lowly home, the great Gothic temple was to her an ever-present symbol of God's own house to which she sought to climb. It was connected with her earliest visions. When but six years old, looking up one day from Vallepiazza, she saw above San Domenico, Christ, seated on His throne in royal array. It was St Dominic who appeared to her in a vision, holding a white lily in his hand, and offering to her the habit of a Sister of Penitence. It was to the Third Order of St Dominic that she ultimately joined herself. In vain did her mother endeavour by all means in her power to dissuade her from devoting herself to the religious life. In vain did Lupa seek to induce her

daughter to marry. "Do you not know," said Catherine, "that, from my infancy, by manifest inspiration of God, I have vowed to Christ and to His Blessed Mother that I shall remain for ever a virgin, and that never to any other lover than Him will I give my heart? This promise I firmly intend to keep." In accordance with her vow she early began to practise all the corporal works of mercy. She fed the hungry. She clothed the naked. She visited those who were sick and plague-stricken, and those who were in prison. She also endeavoured to bring peace to the distracted city, to her beloved Siena, by inspiring with the love of God and man, hearts that were full of hatred, by removing misunderstandings existing between fellow-citizens, by showing in their true colours to the self-deceived, injustice, malice, and violence.

It is related that a certain Niccola Tuldo, a young noble of Perugia, was charged with having spoken against the *Monte* of the Reformers, who were then in power, and with having incited his friends in Siena to rebel against the Government. Sentenced to death by beheading, he did nothing but curse God who had permitted him thus to be cut off untimely in the flower of his youth. In vain did several priests seek to lead him to repentance. Until St Catherine visited him it seemed impossible to remove his hatred to religion. Under her influence this truculent young knight became gentle as a lamb. "Stay with me," he said to her, "and do not leave me; so shall I be happy, and die content." And he placed his head on the saint's breast, she caressing him like a sister. "*Io allora sentivo,*" she relates, "*un giubilo ed un odore del sangue suo, e non era senza*



[*Alinari.*

THE CHAPEL OF THE CONTRADA OF THE OCA, AND THE ENTRANCE TO ST
CATHERINE'S HOUSE.

[*To face p. 166.*

l'odore del mio, la quale io desidero spandere per lo dolce sposo Gesù."

At the block, Caterina was waiting, waiting to keep her tryst. All unconscious of the crowd of spectators, Tuldo, as soon as he saw her, began to smile. He bade her make the sign of the cross. Then he willingly placed his head on the block, murmuring fervently the words, "Jesus! Catherine!" She caught his head in her hands as it fell; and, at the same moment, she saw his spirit passing to its eternal rest. He turned to look at her, as the bride crossing the threshold of her new home turns round, full of joy and tenderness, to look, half fearfully, half expectantly, into the eyes of her husband who follows her.¹

With the same weapons of love and gentleness, St Catherine sought to put an end to the cruel faction-fights that divided her native city. She so influenced the young Stefano Maconi that he relinquished his resolution of continuing the *vendetta* that long existed between his family and the allied houses of the Tolomei and Rinaldini. "She greeted him," he tells us, "not with maiden reticence, but as a sister welcomes a dearly-loved brother who has returned from a far country, eagerly clasping him to her bosom." Led by her, Maconi gave himself up to a religious life, and gained for himself the title of Blessed.

Many other of her fellow-citizens were converted by this young girl. With her as their leader they devoted themselves to works of charity and mercy. When the plague swept over Tuscany in 1374, Catherine, with other tertiaries of the Order of St Dominic whom she

¹ Calisse, *S. Caterina da Siena*, in *Conferenze*, published by the R. Accademia dei Rozzi, Siena, 1895, p. 158.

had gathered round her, went in and out amongst the sick and dying. Regardless of her own safety, the saint visited regularly the worst cases, ministering to their needs.

But the time came when she was to seek a larger field for the exercise of her great qualities of mind and heart. She had long contemplated with grief and anguish the state of Christendom. With the help of France the Papacy had overcome the Empire only to fall under the influence of her ally. And not only did the Papacy lose her independence. During her sojourn at Avignon, worldliness and self-indulgence infected more deeply than ever the members of the Curia. The luxury, vice, and iniquity of Avignon during the Papal residence became proverbial throughout Europe.¹ Extortion and oppression were the natural consequences of vice and luxury. For luxury and vice are costly. And extortion and oppression in their turn led to bitter animosities, to internecine struggle in the Church.

St Catherine saw the evil that resulted from the Pope's residence at Avignon. She exhorted Gregory to return to Italy, to restore peace to the Church, and to set about its reformation. She wrote letters to Christian princes urging them to cease their fratricidal strifes. But whilst she preached peace amongst Christians, she sought at the same time to fill them with a determination to repel the hordes of Mohammed which were again threatening to overwhelm the religion and the civilisation of Eastern Europe. She regarded a crusade as the best remedy for the divisions of Christendom. A crusade, she thought, would unite

¹ Creighton, *A History of the Papacy*, etc., New Edition. Longmans', 1899 vol i., p. 51.

Catholics. It would sweep back the tide of Moham-
medanism invasion. By its means the light of Chris-
tianity would shine again in lands in which it had been
extinguished, and many infidels would, ultimately, be
converted to the Faith. Her first effort was to put
an end to the war that had broken out in Italy.
Urged on by Florence, who believed her independence
to be threatened by the action of the oppressive French
legates whom the Pope had made governors of Bologna
and Perugia, the Papal cities had risen in revolt to the
cry of "Liberty!"¹ St Catherine exhorted Gregory to
think more of the spiritual than of the temporal power
of the Church, and even at some present loss to the
latter to make peace with his children the Florentines.
"Is it not my duty," replied the Pope, "to preserve
and to recover that which belongs to Holy Church?"
"Alas! I must admit that it is," said Catherine;
"but it seems to me that the thing that is most
precious one ought to guard with the greater care."
"Peace! Peace!" she cried, "is there anything sweeter
than peace? With the allurements of love give peace
to your children, and they will all come with sorrow
and place their heads on your bosom. After that,
my sweet father, we will make the holy expedition
against the Turk. Lift up, father, the banner of the
cross, and you will soon see the wolves become sheep.
Peace! Peace! Peace!"

With this burden on her lips Catherine took her
journey to Avignon as ambassadress of the Florentines.
It was early in the evening of June 18, 1376, that she

¹ Ammirato, *Istorie Fiorentine*, Florence, 1647, Parte Prima, libro tredicesimo, vol. ii., pp. 692-695. The Abbot of Montemaggio, who represented the Pope at Perugia, also interfered in Sienese affairs, giving help to the rebel Salimbeni.

entered the Provençal city. A motley crowd thronged the streets. Brilliant cavalcades rode past this plain poorly-clad sister of St Dominic. She saw the glow of brocade and velvet, the glinting of jewels and weapons, as ladies of Southern France went by with hawks on their wrists, returning from the chase, attended by knights and cardinals sumptuously apparelled. Along the crowded thoroughfares flocked friars and doctors, astrologers and actors, poets and usurers, soldiers and harlots. Everywhere were visible manifestations of pride and splendour and voluptuousness. But she looked not to the right hand nor to the left. She had come upon a mission—a divine mission, she believed. It was laid upon her, a delicate woman, to strengthen the will and confirm the resolution of God's vicar, of Gregory, who was a good man, but weak, timid, and vacillating. It was she who had to inspire him with courage to do the right thing, to brave the wrath of worldly, luxury-loving ecclesiastical officials. She went straight on her way to the place where, from its high rock, the great palace of the Popes frowned upon the town. Entering the hall of the Consistory, beautiful with the frescoes of Simone Martini, she threw herself at the feet of the supreme pontiff.

“Before the eyes of St Catherine,” says Creighton, “floated the vision of a purified and reformed Church, of which the restoration of the Papacy to its original seat was to be at once the symbol and the beginning.” Others before her had sought to persuade the Popes to return to Rome. Dante, in those terrible tones of his, had condemned to the burning fires of hell him who transferred the home of the Papacy to Avignon. Rienzi, in his own arrogant manner, had invited the

supreme pontiff to return to the city of Scipio and Regulus. Petrarch, full of enthusiasm for classical antiquity, had sought to induce the Papal Court to establish itself again in the capital of the world. But all these had pleaded in vain. Urban V, it is true, had visited Rome. But he found it impossible to remain there. To the joy of the Cardinals, he returned to comfortable Avignon.

And now, when others of infinitely greater genius had failed, the dyer's daughter of Fontebranda came to plead with the Pope. On their raised seats sat the Cardinals in purple. Doubtless some of them smiled as she passed up the hall and prostrated herself at the feet of Gregory. "A well-meaning woman, no doubt," whispered some dignitary to his neighbour, "but an enthusiast, a simple-minded person who cannot understand and appreciate the difficulties and complexities of high ecclesiastical policy." But the smiles of the worldly French priests faded away when they saw that Catherine was obviously making an impression on the Pope. And when, at subsequent interviews with Gregory, she spoke of them as they were, when, too, she called lust and simony, avarice and oppression by their right names, when it seemed likely that all their intrigues would be frustrated, that peace would be made with the Florentines, that the Papal Court would leave Avignon for poverty-stricken, turbulent Rome—then their toleration was turned to anger. "There must be no peace with the Florentines," said the Cardinals. "This removal to Rome must be prevented at all costs."

Nothing can exceed the malice of the ambitious, ecclesiastical dignitary against any person who threatens

to thwart his schemes, and especially such schemes as are likely to promote his own personal comfort, his own material prosperity. It is fatally easy for the man of a clerical habit of mind to persuade himself, however worldly and selfish his aims may be, that the cause he favours is the cause of God, and that those who oppose it are mischievous persons, to suppress whom any weapons are permissible. To frustrate his opponents the priest or minister too often makes use of methods which the average layman would shrink from employing. As a rule, the professional exponent of religion believes *au fond*, although he may sincerely and indignantly deny it, that the end justifies the means; and he acts upon that belief.

This Catherine found to her cost. Unable to succeed by the use of ridicule, or by straightforward opposition, her ecclesiastical opponents sought to reach their ends by crooked ways.¹ They employed all kinds of tortuous methods to defeat this woman, who, whatever her failings may have been, was striving single-heartedly for the well-being of Christendom, for the unity of the Church, for its reformation, for its restitution to its ancient seat. They spread reports that the Italians, incensed against Gregory, would assassinate him on his arrival in Rome. They induced some of Gregory's friends to remind him of the danger he ran of being poisoned by the French. Urban V, they said, had died of poison because he planned a second return to Italy. They forged a letter from some reputed saint warning the Pope that he would be killed did he set out for Rome.

Nor did they only endeavour thus to rouse the fears

¹ Capecelatro, *Storia di S. Caterina da Siena*, Siena, 1878, pp. 245, 246, etc.



THE RETURN OF GREGORY XI FROM AVIGNON TO ROME.
From the picture in the Hospital of S. M. della Scala (Benvenuto di Giovanni),

[*Alinari.*

[*To face p. 172.*

of the Pope; they sought directly to injure Catherine both in her reputation and in her person. They spread scandalous tales about her. They even attempted to prevent her from fulfilling her mission, by wounding her body.¹ But all was in vain. Catherine's faith, bravery, and persistency triumphed. She did not succeed in bringing about a peace between the Florentines and Gregory, but she attained her primary object. She inspired with courage and firmness the timid, irresolute Pope. "Let us go, father," said she, "without any fear. Courage! Make no further resistance. Come! Father! Come!" Gregory heeded her prayers. Neither the murmurs of the Cardinals, nor the refusal of some of them to accompany him, nor his aged father's tears, nor the untimely omen that befell him on his setting forth, when his horse stubbornly refused to move in the direction of Marseilles, nor the storms that he encountered in the Mediterranean—none of these things availed to shake his determination. A woman, by sheer weight of goodness—of goodness vivified by love and informed by wisdom and foresight—had effected what some of the most brilliant of the sons of the Church had failed to achieve.

On January 17, 1377, Gregory made his solemn entry into Rome. Preceded by a thousand buffoons clad in white, and by many musicians, he rode like a conqueror up the streets of the Eternal City. A few months later the Pope died. Intimidated by the threatening attitude of the Roman people, and divided amongst themselves, the French Cardinals, who were largely in the majority, did not dare to elect one of their own number to the vacant chair. They chose Bartholomew

¹ Capecelatro, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

Prignano, a Neapolitan, who took the title of Urban VI. But though they had made an Italian Pope, the majority were none the less determined to keep the Papacy under French influences, and to restore it to Avignon. Finally, the Cardinals took up their quarters at Anagni. And there, on September 20, 1378, they elected an anti-pope, alleging that the previous election was illegal, and that Urban had been forced upon them by the Roman mob. The anti-pope took the name of Clement VII. The Great Schism had begun. A year after his election, Clement took up his residence in the Provençal city.

Catherine was heart-broken. All the other woes of Christendom were as nothing to this. At first her sorrow seemed too great for her to bear. The reign of unity and love among Christians, the projected crusade against Mohammedanism which was then threatening the religion and the civilisation of the West, the reform of the Church—all these great objects seemed farther off than ever. Her life-work seemed to have been in vain.¹

But this period of weakness and depression did not last long. Her immense energy and courage reasserted themselves. She wrote letters to the Kings of France and Hungary, to the Queen of Naples, to the Cardinals, to the citizens of Florence, Venice, and Perugia. She encouraged Alberico da Barbiano, the Papal *condottiere*, to fight valiantly against the schismatics. She used her magnetic personal influence on behalf of Urban, striving to keep the Romans loyal to him. At last, at the urgent request of the pontiff, she left her beloved Siena

¹ Calisse, *S. Caterina da Siena*; in *Conferenze*, published by the R. Acad. dei Rozzi, Siena, 1895, pp. 179, 180.

for Rome. She remained at the Papal Court until the day of her death, helping Urban by her sympathy and counsel.

Never had a Pope greater need of a prudent adviser. Placed in a position that would have sorely tried the patience of the wisest of men, Urban acted with an utter lack of judgment, tact and foresight. He was a well-meaning man, and very much in earnest, but violent, self-assertive, arrogant, and possessed of an ungovernable temper. "When one contradicted him," says the chronicler, "the Pope's face became like a burning lamp, his voice grew hoarse with passion, and he who had withstood him was rendered speechless with terror." The swart, monkish Boanerges from Naples did more to injure the Papacy than many a worse occupant of the chair of St Peter.

By the side of this bellicose representative of the Prince of Peace stood the angelic figure of Catherine. She restrained his violence. She soothed his anger. She worked ceaselessly in his cause, being confident that it was the cause of the Church and the cause of God. But her labours, her continual sorrow for the state of Christendom, and the many anxieties of her position, proved too much for a constitution already enfeebled by unwise ascetic practices. Early in the year 1380, she was taken seriously ill. As the spring wore on she gradually sank. And on April 29, Catherine passed quietly away. To the last her thoughts were of the Church and of her "sweetest husband, Christ," who, she believed, was summoning her to Himself.

Her body lies under the High Altar in the great Dominican Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, near

to the spot where all that was mortal of Fra Angelico afterwards found a resting-place. Her head and a finger are amongst the most precious relics that her own Siena holds. They are preserved in her beloved Church of San Domenico, the place of her early visions and prayers. Her home has been made beautiful by the art of Peruzzi, and thousands of pilgrims of all countries and races flock thither to pay reverence to Catherine's memory.

St Catherine is, perhaps, the most winning figure in the history of the Fourteenth Century; and no Sienese, excepting, perhaps, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, has played a greater part in world-history. It is easy to find fault with this woman. She was credulous. She was hysterical. She made an extravagant use of that so-called "discipline" which is too often one perverse manifestation of the emotions it seeks to expel, and aggravates rather than heals the maladies it is supposed to cure. She did not realise that without health of body perfect sanity of mind is impossible. But sanity, temperance, moderation—these were not the characteristic qualities of the Middle Ages.

We must not judge St Catherine because she had the vices of her virtues. It is to the heart rather than to the intellect that all great religions make their appeal. And in all ages, and in all countries, men are more influenced by their feelings than by cold reasoning. A great religious teacher must of necessity be deeply emotional. For to him love must always be the greatest thing in the world. It is unreasonable to wish that David or St John, St Francis or St Catherine had been other than they were.

"Catherine's work," says Symonds, "was a woman's



[Alinari.]
ENTRANCE TO THE HOUSE OF ST CATHERINE, SHOWING THE LOGGIA
OF PERUZZI.

[To face p. 176.]

work—to make peace, to succour the afflicted, to strengthen the Church, to purify the hearts of those around her, not to rule or organise. When she died she left behind her a memory of love more than of power, the fragrance of an unselfish and gentle life, the echo of sweet and earnest words. Her place is in the heart of the humble; children belong to her sisterhood, and the poor crowd her shrine on festivals.”

CHAPTER XII

THE AGE OF SAN BERNARDINO AND ÆNEAS SYLVIUS PICCOLOMINI

ST CATHERINE'S efforts to promote peace and unity came too late to ameliorate the political condition of her native city. Nor could the Reformers, although they gave Siena the best government that she had had since the days of the Twenty-four, cure the political maladies from which she suffered. In fact, the worst of those diseases soon began to manifest itself within the very *Monte* that sought to heal them. Internal dissensions arose within the predominant party, dissensions which led to the paralysis of the executive at more than one crisis, when prompt and vigorous action was demanded of it. The Government, for example, owing to internal divisions, lost the chance of acquiring Arezzo in 1384, and allowed that city to pass into the hands of Florence. Encouraged by the mistakes of the Reformers, their opponents became more and more confident. They fomented the dissensions in that *Monte* and succeeded in splitting it into two halves. Thus the democracy of Siena was no longer a homogeneous party in politics.

Consequently, on March 22, 1385, the Government fell. And not only were the Fifteen Defenders and their chief supporters driven from the city: no less than four thousand good artisans were sent after

them into exile. A new Signory was set up, consisting of four members of the Nine, four of the Twelve, and two representatives of that fraction of the lower class which did not belong to the *Monte* of the Reformers. Moreover, those of the *popolo minuto* who had never been members of the *Riformatori* entered into alliance with the seceders from that party, and, with their co-operation, formed a new Order called the *Monte* of the People. Thus one more obstacle was placed in the way of unity amongst citizens.

Weakened by the expulsion of many of its most useful and productive citizens, the decline of the Republic became more rapid, more inevitable. And a few years after the fall of the Reformers, Siena fell an easy prey to the machinations of that aspiring despot, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Lord of Milan. Gian Galeazzo was a man of boundless ambition. One of his most cherished aims was to add the whole of Tuscany to his Duchy. Summoned by the Sienese to help them to save Montepulciano, the old bone of contention, from coming into the possession of the Florentines, he ultimately succeeded in obtaining the lordship of the city that had sought his aid. It was the Twelve and the Salimbeni, that immoral confederacy which had already wrought so much ill for Siena, who helped him in the furtherance of his designs. In the closing days of 1399, the Commune solemnly handed over to him the lordship of the city and its *contado*.¹ And so degenerate had the Sienese become, that, glorying in their shame, they honoured the event with banquets and illuminations.

Fortunately for the Republic, Visconti died of the

¹ Malavolti, *ed. cit.*, Seconda Parte, ff. 185-190.

plague in 1402. But a few months after his death the members of the *Monte* of the Twelve and the Salimbeni plotted to cast down the foreign government which they had been instrumental in establishing in Siena.¹ The conspiracy failed. The *Dodici* were expelled from the city, and it was decreed that neither they nor their descendants should be permitted to return to it. Nevertheless, in 1404, the Sienese successfully rebelled against the lordship of the Duke of Milan, at the same time making peace with Florence. They had to pay dearly for their liberty; for Montepulciano and with it the control of the Via Francigena passed into the hands of the Florentines.

In the years 1408 and 1409 another ambitious prince threatened the liberty of Siena. Ladislao of Naples had conceived no less an idea than to establish a great Italian kingdom, and to gain the imperial crown. Those were the days of the Great Schism. Taking advantage of the divisions in Italy, the young king advanced a long way on the road towards the attainment of his object. He made himself master of Rome, and seized the States of the Church. For the trifling sum of 25,000 gold florins, he had succeeded in buying a legal title to his new conquests from Gregory XII. Fearing that the nominee of the Council of Pisa would not recognise this agreement, Ladislao set out for Tuscany with the object of dissolving that body. The Sienese at first had been in league with Ladislao and Gregory, and, in fact, had given shelter to the Pope. Cossa, the leader of the Cardinals, saw that he could only secure the safety of the Council by uniting Florence and Siena in a league against the Neapolitan king. This he succeeded

¹ Malavolti, *ed. cit.*, Seconda Parte, f, 193^b.

in doing. Siena determined to join Florence in her effort to check the further advance of the Neapolitan sovereign.¹ The Florentines sent a force to co-operate with their allies when Ladislas advanced to attack Siena. The result was that, despairing of taking the city by storm, the king withdrew towards Arezzo.² His death on August 6, 1414, released the two Republics from fears of successful invasion.

For sixteen years after the death of Ladislas, Siena did not engage in any important war nor did any revolution take place within her gates. During this period her trade flourished, and she succeeded in making important additions to her territory. In the winter of 1423-24 a General Council met in Siena, which, although fruitless of result for the Church, helped to increase the wealth of the inhabitants. The city was visited by cardinals and ambassadors, prelates and abbots from every part of Christendom.

But the evil spirit of faction had not departed from Siena. *Vendette* and faction-fights still disturbed the city. With a revival of material prosperity, more and more of the citizens gave themselves up to luxurious living and sensual delights. *Molles Senae* became "a very city of Venus." The humanists, too, who were now teaching in her university, had brought with them Pagan vices as well as ancient culture. Here it was that Antonio Beccadelli acquired a great part of the knowledge which he used in writing his *Hermaproditus*. The novels of Sermini, the *Assempri* of

¹ Ammirato, *ed. cit.*, Prima Parte, Libro Diciasettesimo, vol. ii., p. 942. The date of the treaty was May 30, 1408.

² Ammirato, *ed. cit.*, Prima Parte, Libro Diciasettesimo, vol. ii., pp. 948, 949. Creighton gives a full and clear account of the later career of Ladislas. See *History of the Papacy*, *ed. cit.*, vol. i., pp. 208-293.

Fra Filippo, the writings of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini reveal to us the corruption of the city.

It was at this time that San Bernardino¹ began to exercise great influence over the Sienese. This extraordinary man was born in 1380, the year in which S. Catherine died. He sprang from the noble house of Albizzeschi of Massa Marittima. He had come to Siena whilst still a child, and had subsequently pursued his studies in the communal university. It was in the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala that he had performed his early works of charity. And it was at S. Francesco in Siena that he had received the habit of the Franciscan Order. Possessed by the comic spirit, and yet deeply in earnest; full of religious emotion, but nevertheless a virile personality and pre-eminently rational; a saint certainly, but nevertheless intensely human, this man moved whole cities by his strange, unconventional eloquence. Bearing in his hand a painting of the monogram of Jesus surrounded by golden rays, he visited Milan and Venice, Brescia and Ferrara, Bologna and Florence. His chief aims were to bring to an end the fratricidal party conflicts that divided so many Italian cities, to discourage the luxurious and vicious practices that every day were becoming more and more common in Italy at the time of the Renaissance, and to bring about a revival of true religion.

It was in April 1425 that he returned to Siena after several years of absence. He was enthusiastically

¹ The chief authorities of the life of San Bernardino are Alessio, *S. Bernardino da Siena*, Mondovi, 1899; Thureau-Dangin, *S. Bernardino da Siena*, . . . trad. da Mons. Telemaco-Barbetti, Siena, 1897; and Bacci, *Le Prediche volgari di S. Bernardino in Siena*, nel. 1427, published in *Conferenze* by the R. Accademia dei Rozzi, Siena, 1895.



SAN BERNARDINO.

[Alinari.

From the fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena (Sano di Pietro).

[To face p. 182.

received by the Government and the people. An altar and a pulpit were set up in front of the Palazzo della Signoria, and there in the Great Piazza, under the shadow of the Mangia Tower, he, the greatest preacher of his age, delivered his first course of sermons in his adopted city.

He denounced the factions of the Sienese. He exhorted them to put an end to the discords that so long had disturbed the city. He condemned their luxurious living, their love of gambling, their lasciviousness. The fame of his daring wit, of his wonderful gift of storytelling had drawn many to hear him. But those who came to be amused, remained to pray. So powerful was the effect of his words that a pyre was erected in the Piazza del Campo and there was a great burning of vanities—cards, dice, false hair, cosmetics, and obscene books and pictures were thrown into the fire. At the same time the Government issued a body of decrees called the “*Riformagioni di Frate Bernardino*,”¹ the aim of which was to put down all excessive displays of luxury, and to exclude from public office all persons of immoral character.

But after the departure of the Saint, many flung aside their winter garment of repentance and gave free vent to their hatred and their lust. The old party cries were heard in the streets. Assassinations again became common. Many fair penitents refurbished their armoury of dyes and perfumes and cosmetics, and again engaged in illicit amours.

San Bernardino heard of the backsliding of the Sienese, and was filled with sorrow at this display of

¹ Mengozzi, *Il Monte dei Paschi di Siena e le aziende in esse riunite*, vol. i., pp. 111, 112.

their accustomed mobility. In 1427 he returned to Siena and preached again in the Piazza del Campo.¹ He denounced in the strongest terms those who gave themselves up to party strife. He showed that in giving free vent to the factious spirit the Sienese were bringing material as well as moral ruin upon their city. In homely, forcible words he demonstrated the effect that these divisions had upon agriculture and commerce.² He declared too that all those who promoted strife and dissension would go to "the house of the devil," the father of division, and would never enter the kingdom of love.

In vigorous language he described the effects of these party struggles. "How many evils," he cries, "have taken their origin from these factions! How many women have been butchered in their own cities, in their own homes! . . . How many children have perished because of their fathers' *vendette*! How many infants have been ripped from the wombs of their mothers. . . . Men have taken babies and have dashed out their brains against a wall. They have sold the flesh of an enemy at the butcher's, just like any other meat. Plucking the heart out of a dead body, they have eaten it raw. How many have been stabbed and then buried in a dung-heap! Some have been roasted and then eaten. Some have been hurled down from towers, some from bridges, into the running water below. Women have been seized and ravished

¹ S. Bernardino's sermons of the year 1427 were taken down in shorthand by a humble admirer of his, a certain Benedetto. A volume of selected sermons was published by Milanese, in 1853 (Siena, C. Landi e N. Alessandri). In 1880, Banchi published all the sermons of 1427 in three volumes.

² S. Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche Volgari*, Siena, 1853, one vol., p. 105. Milanese's name does not appear on the title-page or cover, but he was the editor of this selection.



[Alinari.]

S. BERNARDINO PREACHING IN THE PIAZZA DEL CAMPO.

From the picture in the Sala del Capitolo, in the Duomo, Siena (Sano di Pietro).

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in the presence of their fathers and their husbands, who have then been slain before their eyes. Nor have men shewn any pity for an enemy, so long as life remained in him.”¹

He spoke of the party symbols and badges, the shields and banners of factions, that were to be seen everywhere on the walls of the city. He exhorted his hearers to tear them down and to substitute for them the monogram of the Prince of Peace. Thousands of citizens heeded his words, and at the Palazzo Pubblico, and on many Sienese houses, may be seen the badge of San Bernardino, the letters I.H.S. surrounded by golden rays.

The effect of the eloquence of San Bernardino was not altogether evanescent. New *Riformagioni* were decreed at his instigation,² and for many years we find evidences of his influence in political and legal documents.

It was the ambitious designs of a war-party in Florence, a party led by young aristocrats, that ultimately disturbed the peace of Tuscany. Rinaldo degli Albizzi and Neri Capponi adopted a plan of political action which has had great attractions for Conservative party-leaders in all countries and in all ages. They sought to distract the minds of the people from questions of domestic policy, and to gain popularity for themselves, by promoting a successful war of aggression. They therefore advocated the acquisition of Lucca, on

¹ S. Bernardino, *Le Prediche Volgari di San Bernardino*, edited by L. Banchi, Siena, 1880, vol. i., pp. 252, 253. This reading differs somewhat from that in the volumes of selected sermons published by Milanese.

² S. Bernardino da Siena, *Opera di P. Thureau-Dangin*, trad. da Mons. Telemaco-Barbetti, Siena, 1897, p. 149.

the ground that they would thus render more secure the Republic's possession of Pisa, and erect a new rampart against the ambitious dynasty of Milan. The war party had their way. In December 1429 hostilities commenced. The Sienese became alarmed, as well they might, at the aggressiveness of their neighbours, and determined to do what they could to prevent Lucca from falling into their hands.

The rulers of Florence grossly mismanaged their war. Money was spent like water, with no satisfactory result. There was great scarcity in the city. The war-like enthusiasm of the people rapidly cooled; and the party opposed to the Government grew stronger day by day. The oligarchy soon began to think of making peace.

The arrival of the Emperor in Tuscany made the position of the Florentines yet more unsatisfactory. Sigismund had come to Italy to obtain the imperial crown. He clung to the old Ghibelline ideals and wished to be the acknowledged secular head of Christendom. He took the side of Lucca, Siena, and the Visconti.

On July 12, 1432, the handsome Emperor made his entry into Siena, surrounded by all that pomp and magnificence which he loved. The Signory, the clergy, and the nobles of the city went out to S. Petronilla to meet him, and to offer him the keys of the city. Sigismund, with a sumptuous baldacchino over him, rode through the Porta Camollia. His pleasant face and fine figure won the hearts of all the women, and loud were the *Evvivas* as he rode up the winding streets, beneath palace windows hung with rich brocades, and accompanied by a thousand knights, six hundred



SIGISMUND ENTHRONED.

[Alinari.]

A portion of a pavement in the Cathedral, Siena (Domenico di Bartolo).

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musketeers, and a motley band of musicians and buffoons. The sight of the new firearms had its effect upon the people, and helped to strengthen their impressions of imperial power and splendour.¹

The old Ghibellinism, however, which Sigismund represented, was wellnigh dead, and it was impossible to rouse any lasting enthusiasm for it. The citizens soon tired of their costly guest. And yet the Emperor's visit to Tuscany was not altogether without important results. His arrival led Rinaldo degli Albizzi finally to decide to negotiate terms of peace. And after some haggling over its conditions, a treaty was concluded on April 29, 1433, by which Florence, Lucca, and Siena, agreed to restore all conquests made at each other's expense.²

Except for occasional raids made by the exiled members of the Twelve upon the Sienese *contado*, the history of the Commune was uneventful for the fourteen years that followed the conclusion of this treaty between the two Republics. But on the death of Filippo Maria Visconti, Lord of Milan, in 1447, there commenced a new epoch in Italian politics, an epoch of conflict and change. The alliance for mutual protection between the Republics of Florence and Venice came to an end, and the chief States of Italy began to form new combinations.

It was Cosimo de Medici who succeeded in changing

¹ An interesting record of the visit of Sigismund to Siena is to be found in that portion of inlaid pavement in the Duomo designed by Domenico di Bartolo in 1434. In many ways it is a remarkable piece of work. Sigismund is represented enthroned under a classical canopy. The pillars which support the canopy are crowned by Ionic capitals. See my *Fra Angelico* (Bell and Sons, 1900), pp. 77, 79.

² Malavolti, *ed. cit.*, Terza Parte, Libro Secondo, f. 27^t. The treaty was published in Florence on May 24.

the traditional policy of Florence. There were many claimants to the vacant seat of authority at Milan—the Duke of Orleans, the Emperor, Alfonso of Naples, Venice, Sforza, and lastly, the Milanese themselves, who wished to set up a Republic. Florence, of course, could not allow a foreign potentate to obtain possession of a province of Italy so rich in natural resources, and in so important a strategic position, as the Duchy of Milan; nor could she suffer that Duchy to pass into the hands of one of the other great Italian States; for to do so would be to destroy the balance of power in the peninsula. There were there then, two courses open to her. Either she could give her support to the republican party at Milan, or she could assist the *condottiere* Sforza to realise his ambitious schemes.

Cosimo saw that it was better for Florence, and better for himself to have in the Lombard capital, a strong ruler—a ruler who owed his position to Florentine support—than a struggling Republic, which might fall a victim to France or Venice. He therefore threw all the weight of his immense personal influence into the scale on the side of Sforza. After some disappointments, Cosimo saw his hopes realised. In February 1450, Milan surrendered to Sforza, and six months later a league for mutual defence was concluded between Florence and the successful *condottiere*.

Enraged with her old ally for aiding Sforza to acquire Milan, Venice had already sought and found a new friend in Alfonso of Naples. Italy was thus divided into two camps. On the one side were Sforza and Florence, on the other Venice and Alfonso. The Sienese decided to help the enemies of their neighbour city; and Frederick III, who had just come to Italy to



[*Alinari.*

THE BETROTHAL OF FREDERICK III AND ELEANOR OF PORTUGAL.

From the fresco in the Piccolomini Library (Pintoricchio).

[*To face p. 188.*

obtain the imperial crown, also gave his support to the opponents of Florence.

The anticipated interference of the Emperor alarmed the Florentines. But they had little serious cause for fear. Frederick, the last of the Emperors crowned in Rome, was like some stage potentate: he had only the outward trappings of empire and lacked both the imperial temperament and the imperial authority. The only event that marked his visit to Tuscany was his first meeting with Leonora of Portugal, which took place at Siena on February 24, 1452. There, on a spot outside the Porta Camollia, he met his bride of sixteen years. Her irresistible loveliness aroused the enthusiasm of so exacting a connoisseur of feminine beauty as Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, and it so powerfully affected her future husband that, at the first sight of it, he forgot the ritual of imperial lovers, and took her into his arms without further ceremony.¹

On his way back from Rome, Frederick endeavoured to act as mediator between the two great Italian confederacies, and to avert the struggle that seemed imminent. His attempts came to nothing. As soon as he had left the country, Venice declared war with Sforza, and Alfonso with Florence. At first Siena refused to take part in the struggle. But when the Florentine army invaded her territory she was compelled to take up arms.

The war, never very hotly waged, soon degenerated into a series of recriminatory raids made by the armies of Florence and Siena, each invading in turn the territory of the other. At last, in March 1454, Venice and

¹ Pintoricchio's fresco in the Piccolomini library depicting this event, which forms one of a series illustrating the life of Pius II, is well known to all lovers of Italian art,

Sforza came to terms, and the Treaty of Lodi was signed. All the Italian States accepted it except Naples, Alfonso being very angry because he had not been consulted by its framers.

Ultimately Alfonso himself joined the new league.¹ He determined, however, to be revenged on the Sieneſe because they had joined it before himſelf. He ſtirred up, therefore, the *condottiere* Piccinino to invade their territory. Piccinino gave Siena a great deal of trouble. To add to her difficulties, Giſberto da Correggio, the General of the Republic, proved to be a traitor, and ſome of the Nove plotted ſecretly with Alfonso to overthrow the liberties of the Commune.

In the ſummer of 1455 the Sieneſe determined to take deciſive ſteps to put down traitors. A *balìa* of fifteen citizens was appointed, with full authority to do whatever ſeemed good to them for the ſafety of the State. The treacherous general was ſummoned to the Palace, and hurled from an upper window into the Piazza.² At laſt, through the intervention of Calixtus III and Æneas Sylviuſ Piccolomini, then Biſhop of Siena, Piccinino made peace with the Republic.

Two years later the Cardinal of Siena was raiſed to the pontificate, with the title of Piuſ II. Æneas Sylviuſ was, perhaps, the moſt remarkable man of an age that produced many remarkable men. Of all the great humaniſts, none was more thoroughly imbued with the true ſpirit of humaniſm, none had a wider outlook. He was no claiſſical pedant, no mere archæologiſt, no

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Capitoli*, Num d'ord, 177 ; 1455, Gennaio 26.

² In the Biblioteca Claſſenſe at Ravenna, I found an intereſting manuſcript relating to this event, a manuſcript which has eſcaped the notice of ſcholarſ. The volume it iſ to be found in contains other things intereſting to ſtudentſ of Sieneſe hiſtory. See Cod. No. 284, A.C. 99,

decadent dilettante, out of sympathy with his own age, and full of exaggerated, indiscriminating admiration for the works of antiquity. He loved the people. He shared the joys and troubles and aspirations of the men of his own day. He took part in, and sought to direct, the great popular movements of the age.

For this reason, he set a high value on eloquence. Ever since the days when as a youth he had listened to the preaching of San Bernardino in the Great Piazza, he had cultivated his gift of persuasive speech. By means of this power, and by his many other great qualities of mind and heart, this man of letters had reached the highest position in the Church.

But amidst the splendours of his new position, he never forgot his own country. A pioneer in the movement of the return to nature, he loved to quit Rome, her sordid court intrigues and her insoluble problems, and to spend the months of summer on the slopes of Amiata, in silent woods, by limpid brooks, amongst the leafy vines and the flower-decked fields. He loved, too, Siena, the city of his early loves, his early enthusiasms, a city connected by many ancient ties with the noble house from which he had sprung. And he had a quite natural desire to see the *Gentiluomini*, the Order to which his family belonged, restored to the full rights of citizenship. In the spring of 1459 he visited Siena, and, to win her favour, presented the city with the Golden Rose. But the people would not do all that the Pope wished. They admitted the house of Piccolomini to full political rights, and to the other noble families some public offices were thrown open, but the *Gentiluomini* were not placed on an equal footing with the other *Monti*,

Five years later, Pius died. This calm, temperate scholar was a martyr to the same cause to which his passionate fellow-countrywoman St Catherine gave her life. During his brief pontificate he had sought to promote peace and love amongst Christians, and to unite them in an effort to beat back the hordes of advancing Mohammedanism which were again threatening the religion and culture of the West. His eloquent appeals to Christendom met with but little response. Grieved at the short-sighted selfishness of his flock, he determined himself to go on a crusade. "If the vicar of Christ," he said, "a sick old man, sets out for the war, perhaps for very shame Christians will follow." But his exertions had been too much for his feeble strength. He never went to the war. He passed away at Ancona, whither he had gone to join his fleet. After his death, the Sieneſe no longer regarded themselves as bound to carry out his wiſhes. They withdrew the concessions that they had made to the *Gentiluomini*. But they left his own family in the poſſeſſion of civic privileges.

In the year 1478, Siena found herſelf involved in another war with Florence. Pope Sixtus and his faithful allies, the Neapolitans, were enraged in conſequence of the failure of the Pazzi conſpiracy, and becauſe of the loyalty of Florence to the Medici. They determined to crush Lorenzo at all coſts. Siena, thinking that ſhe might recover Montepulciano, took ſides with the Pope and Ferrante of Naples. Venice and Milan, Ferrara and Bologna, allied themſelves with Florence, and the French king alſo gave his ſupport to Lorenzo. The Florentines and Milanese fortified a ſtrong poſition commanding



[Alinari.]

PIUS II. AT ANCONA.

From a fresco (Pintoricchio) in the Piccolomini Library.

[To face p. 192.]



[Alinari.]

THE BLESSED VIRGIN PROTECTING SIENA.
 From a book-cover in the Archivio di Stato, Siena (Benvenuto di Giovanni).

[To face p. 192.]

the valley of the Elsa at Poggio Imperiale, a hill overlooking Poggibonsi, and made that their chief base. Their commander was the Duke of Ferrara. He had none of the qualities of a great general. At the very outset of the war Florence lost San Savino, in the Chiana valley, through his sluggishness. The winter of 1478-79 proved very disastrous to the Florentines. Bands of marauders raided the country up to the very gates of their city. There was great scarcity of bread. Close on the heels of famine came pestilence, and bore away many victims.¹

The next campaign decided the issue of the war. The Neapolitans and Sienese, led by Ferrante's son Alfonso, Duke of Calabria and the Duke of Urbino, marched rapidly from Chiusi, past Siena, towards Poggibonsi. Arriving on the night of September 8-9 before Poggio Imperiale, they stormed the position before daybreak. The Florentines and their allies were utterly routed, and many killed.² No organised force now lay between Florence and the enemy. Had Alfonso marched on the city it could have offered no effective resistance. He preferred, however, to lay siege to the little town of Colle.³

It was at this juncture that Lorenzo de' Medici made his memorable visit to Naples. Not a military genius, he could not help his city effectively in the field. But what gifts he had he gave her; and he hazarded life and liberty in her cause. His diplomatic abilities, his

¹ The laconic unadorned statements of the Diary of Landucci the Florentine shopkeeper show how great was the misery and panic of the Florentines. See Landucci, *Diario Fiorentino*, Florence, Sansoni, 1883, pp. 24-31.

² Ammirato, *ed. cit.*, Parte Seconda, Libro Ventiquattresimo, vol. iii., p. 138.

³ The *tavoletta* of the Biccherna for 1478-79 is a representation of this siege. I believe it to be a work of Francesco di Giorgio.

wide knowledge of men, his powers of persuasion, his magnetic personal influence, enabled him to gain his ends. He won the admiration and friendship of Ferrante. He defeated the designs of Sixtus. He saved his house and his country.

Terms of peace were agreed upon in February 1480.¹ Siena was permitted to keep San Savino, Poggibonsi, Colle, and several castles in the Chianti. It was also provided that Florence should pay an indemnity to the Duke of Calabria. The city of the Medici thus had to put up with some losses. But her ruler had got her out of a very awkward position, and he merited and received her gratitude.

Siena was on the winning side. But her position was not an enviable one. The Duke of Calabria threatened to become a veritable Old Man of the Sea to the Commune. After the war was over, he remained in the city, much to the detriment of her liberty. The Florentines laughed at the plight of Siena. "The Duke does what he likes with them," sniggered Landucci, the Florentine shopkeeper. As a despot, Alfonso did not love the *Monte* of the Reformers, and he intrigued with the exiled members of the Nine and the *Popolo* with the object of obtaining the exclusion of the *Riformatori* from office. The conspiracy was successful. No less than a third of that Order was driven from the city. The expulsion of so many qualified artisans was most injurious to her industries.

The new Government was composed of twenty citizens, drawn in part from the Nine and in part from

¹ The treaty was signed on March 13, 1480. Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Capitoli*, Num. d'ord., 201 ; 1480, Marzo 13.

the *Popolo*. At the same time a new *Monte* was formed which bore the name of the *Aggregati*, whose members were drawn from the three Orders of the *Nove*, the *Popolo*, and the *Gentiluomini*.

In August 1480 an event happened which changed all the plans of Alfonso. Otranto was taken by the Turks. The banner of Mohammed floated over an Italian town. Hastily summoned by his father, the Duke quitted Siena, and hurried homewards. Great was the satisfaction of all the citizens who still loved liberty.

But there was one bitter drop in their cup of rejoicing. In order to appease the Florentines and to win their support, the king of Naples and his ally the Pope consented to restore to Florence all that had been taken from her by the recently-signed treaty. At such a juncture Siena could do nothing but comply with this agreement. Much against her will she gave up her newly-won possessions.

CHAPTER XIII

PANDOLFO PETRUCCI

IT has been said that the constitutional history of one of the free communes of Central Italy is, in its main outlines, the constitutional history of all. Speaking generally, and making due allowance for exceptional developments here and there, this statement may be regarded as true. In each city the rich *bourgeois* unite with the lower classes to destroy the power of the old nobles, who are mostly of German origin. In each city the result of this class-war is that an oligarchy of wealth takes the place of an oligarchy of birth; and the deluded artisans discover that they have helped to oust the old aristocracy from the seat of power only to place there more exacting masters. In each city, after a period of financial prosperity, the oligarchy of wealth, after the manner of oligarchies, becomes divided against itself, and the leaders of the new aristocracy engage in a struggle for absolute supremacy, seeking allies in all the other classes. The conflict is fought *à l'outrance*, for in the case of either warring faction, defeat or withdrawal from the contest will result not only in political prescription, but also in absolute financial and social ruin. Finally, in each of the cities, after a period of internecine warfare, during which new governments are continually rising

and falling, a member of one of the houses of the new aristocracy succeeds in obtaining complete control of the government of the state. Sick of the effects of their own turbulence, the people welcome a strong ruler. A despotism ultimately takes the place of an oligarchy of wealth.

This was the course that events followed in Siena. But here the process of evolution was less rapid than in other cities. It was not until the last decade of the fifteenth century that a despotism was established in that "storehouse of percialities," and then it endured for but a short time. The reason of this phenomenon has never been satisfactorily explained. It is customary for historians, and especially for Florentine historians, to content themselves with asserting that the process of constitutional development was less rapid in Florence than in Siena, because in the smaller commune the aristocracy was more powerful, and because, also, the people of Siena were less intellectually alert, and of not so independent a temper as the inhabitants of the city on the Arno. The spirit of *municipalismo*, combined with an emotional attachment to the cause of democracy, has led Florentine writers to cling to the strange figment that their city was the home of liberty, that Florence was "in the van of democratic progress." They fail to see that the reason why the establishment of a despotism was longer delayed in Siena than in Florence was just because in the hill-set city the lower classes had a substantial share of power, and more than once attained political supremacy, whilst in the city by the Arno, save for a few mad months of revolution, the party of democracy never became an important factor in the

state. In Florence, the lower guilds and the artisans never succeeded, in fact, in obtaining a position at all equal in importance to that held by the lower classes in Siena. In Siena the strife of civic faction was prolonged because the warring classes were more equal in strength, because there was no party sufficiently powerful to preserve for any length of time an absolute supremacy. Here, as elsewhere, the *popolo grasso*, the wealthy *bourgeois*, were, on the whole, the strongest class. But in consequence of the fact that political power was so widely dispersed, having lost supremacy they could not easily regain it. The lower classes had, of course, no great love for the old nobility; they were divided, too, amongst themselves; but they were content to disregard for a time their own differences, and to ally themselves with the old houses, if by doing so they might defeat the ambitious designs of the ring of rich families which dominated the *Monte* of the Nine.

In the penultimate decade of the fifteenth century the fool-fury of faction reached a climax. The *Monte del Popolo* united all classes against their former allies, the rich burghers. The *Noveschi* were condemned to perpetual banishment. Their expulsion was effected with the greatest disorder. The whole city was full of blood and violence.¹

In vain did the Pope send Cardinal Giov. Battista Cibo del Molfetta to quell the disturbances. At first, apparently successful, the Cardinal was soon brought to realise the hopelessness of the task entrusted to him. In April 1483, the *Plebei* broke open the prisons,

¹ It was between June 7, 1482, and Feb. 20, 1483, that the disorder was at its worst.

where certain of the leaders of the Nine were then incarcerated, and seizing these unfortunate men, they hurled them from the upper windows of the Palazzo Pubblico. In despair Molfetta shook from his feet the dust of the turbulent city and set out on his journey to Rome.

But the day of the Nine was near at hand. The factions most bitterly opposed to them within the city were continually growing weaker, by a process of mutual extermination. The saner citizens of all classes were becoming more and more willing to support any government that would really govern. Growing in confidence, the exiles made the fortress of Staggia their headquarters, and began to lay plans for taking Siena by surprise. At last, on July 20, 1487, they left their stronghold with the intention of carrying out their purpose. Secret as were their movements, the Signory obtained news of their setting forth. Some traitorous informer reported to the government that the attacking party hoped to reach the city at night-fall; and all the afternoon and evening of that day the citizens were watching for the enemy, and preparing to repel their attack. But when night came, and there were no signs of the approach of the *Noveschi*, many of the people began to think that they had been disturbed by a false alarm, and, disarming themselves, they went to bed.¹ The fact was, that an unexpected *contretemps* had happened, which, although it chafed the raiders, proved to be a very fortunate occurrence for them. After starting on their journey they had discovered that the scaling instruments which they had caused to

¹ Pecci, *Memorie storico-critiche della città di Siena, che servono alla vita civile di Pandolfo Petrucci*, Parte Prima, Siena, 1755, p. 47.

be made at Viterbo were injured and required repairing. Because of this they were some six or seven hours late in arriving, and the defenders were thrown off their guard. When, at dawn on the following morning, the *fuorusciti* reached Siena, they found it almost undefended. Easily overcoming the guard at the Porta Fontebranda they were soon in command of the town.

The real leader of the victorious party was a young man of thirty-six, a member of one of the lesser houses of the new nobility, Pandolfo Petrucci.¹ Tradition relates that he was the first of the attacking party to scale the walls of the city. He certainly began at once to take a prominent part in the establishment of the new government. After some months of constant change and tumult, it was ultimately decided in December 1487, that from henceforth there should be but one Order, that of the City and People of Siena. The members of this Order now constituted the General Council of the State.

But the General Council, once supreme, had now very little power. The government of the Commune had gradually passed into the hands of the College of *Balia*. The *Balia*, originally an extraordinary magistracy, a special committee of citizens, constituted at any great crisis, and endowed with exceptional powers, had become a permanent body. It was now provided that the College should consist of nine members, three from each of the *Terzi* of the city.

This government had not long been constituted

¹ The authorities for the life of Pandolfo Petrucci are Pecci, Aquarone [*Gli ultimi anni della Storia Repubblicana di Siena*, Siena, 1869], and Mondolfo [*Pandolfo Petrucci*, Siena, 1899].

before another step was taken towards the establishment of despotism. A sub-committee of three of its members, called the *Segreti*, was elected by the College of *Balia*, and to this triumvirate it delegated all its powers. Giacomo Petrucci, the brother of Pandolfo, was one of the three Dictators, and, in 1495, on the approach of Charles VIII and his invading army, Pandolfo himself was placed in command of the three hundred Guards of the Palace, who formed the little standing army of Siena.

Constant attempts were made to check the ever-increasing power of the Petrucci. The secret committee was twice abolished. The constitution of the *Balia* was changed. Pandolfo, for a time, lost his official position, and in disgust quitted the city. But after a very brief absence, he was summoned back again, with the result that his power became greater than ever. Upon his return he was elected a member of the College of *Balia*. And upon the death of his brother Giacomo, which occurred in 1497, he became indisputably the chief personage in the State.

Although supreme, Pandolfo was bitterly opposed by the members of some of the chief families of the Nine, and especially by the Belanti and the Borghesi.¹ In order to make his position secure he deemed it necessary that he should get rid of the leaders of the Opposition, his father-in-law, Niccolò Borghese, Luzio Belanti, and Ludovico Luti. This he ultimately succeeded in doing. Luzio was forced to take refuge in Florence after plotting unsuccessfully against him; Ludovico Luti, having sought the same place of shelter,

¹ An interesting letter of Leonardo Belanti was published by F. Donati in the *Misc. Stor. Sen.*, anno i., num. 7., July 1893, pp. 129-132.

was despatched by assassins hired by Pandolfo; while Niccolò was run through in Siena by *bravi*, whilst on his way from the Duomo to his own house.

The public voice acquitted Pandolfo. He had acted like a man of spirit. He had done nothing contrary to the political morality of the time in removing Borghese and his other enemies. His wife, Aurelia, found it more difficult to forgive him. "Another husband," she exclaimed, "I could easily find, but I can never get another father."¹ But ultimately she also pardoned him; and, in spite of the fact that in his old age he took to himself a mistress whom he loved to distraction, Aurelia lived affectionately with Pandolfo until his death. The possession of a virile personality and worldly success cover a multitude of sins in the eyes of a woman.

In the fifteen years that intervened between Pandolfo's accession to supreme power and his death was decided the ultimate fate of Tuscany. For more than two centuries, largely owing to the mistaken policy of the Sienese, Florence had been growing in power. Her alliance with Siena, which had subsisted for a great part of that time, had given her that free passage to Rome and to the sea which was necessary for the development of her trade. Increasing in power by these means, she had at last succeeded, in the early years of the fifteenth century, in obtaining possession both of Montepulciano and Pisa. Thus under Albizzi and Medici she grew yearly in wealth and importance.

In the closing years of the century, however, this supremacy of hers was again seriously in danger. Under the spell of Savonarola's personality, Florence had

¹ Pecci, *op. cit.*, Parte Prima, p. 163. Niccolò died on July 19, 1500.

foolishly adhered to the French alliance when all Italy was united against the invader. Taking advantage of the difficulties of her isolated position, first Pisa and then Montepulciano rebelled against her. At the same time the Florentines were threatened by her exiled prince, Piero de' Medici, who was ready to make any terms with the enemies of the Republic, if by doing so he might regain his lost lordship. Florence was thus once more engaged in a life and death struggle. Attacked on the north by the Duke of Milan and the Venetians, on the west by Pisa, and on the south by Piero de Medici, her position was serious. It seemed likely that Pandolfo and his fellow-citizens would take advantage of this opportunity for humiliating the rival town, and would seek to make Siena the chief city in Tuscany. The Sienese accepted the lordship of Montepulciano. They gave assistance to Pisa in her struggle against Florence. They allowed Piero de' Medici free passage through their territory on the occasion of his unsuccessful campaign against Florence in the winter of 1495-96.

But the old fear of the Florentines soon asserted itself at Siena. The citizens were the first to oppose any active resistance to their rival, and would not ally themselves with the Duke of Milan. Pandolfo, at first favourable to a Milanese alliance, ultimately decided that it was safer to temporise with the neighbour city. He was confirmed in this conviction when the Duke of Milan, for jealousy of Venice, himself entered into an alliance with Florence.

Pandolfo Petrucci had no real intention of keeping faith with the Republic on the Arno. He showed, however, no open hostility to the Florentines. He did

not realise that Siena might yet have a chance of surpassing her rival, did she make a firm defensive and offensive alliance with Pisa and Lucca. Not endowed with the strength and daring of the greatest adventurers of the Renaissance, he thought to gain his ends by dissimulation alone. But cunning liar as he was, Pandolfo never succeeded in hoodwinking for long either the Florentines or their ally the French king. It was an age of political duplicity. But Pandolfo's double dealing was so shameless and so continuous that he disgusted alike both his allies and his foes. Nevertheless the only men he really deceived were his own fellow-citizens, who soon acquired a great faith in him.

More than once he assured the Florentine ambassador of his loyalty to the French alliance at the very time that, with the aid of his faithful secretary, Antonio da Venafrò, he was promising help to the Pisans, the Venetians, and Piero de' Medici. At last, on September 14, 1498, a formal treaty was made with Florence.¹ It was decided that the Florentines should destroy a fort which they had built in the Chiana valley, the fort of Valiano; that for five or six years Montepulciano should not be molested; and that neither Siena nor Florence should permit enemies of the rival city to use its territory as a place of refuge or as a *point d'appui*.

Neither party kept the compact thus solemnly made. Pandolfo continued to ally himself secretly with the enemies of Florence, whilst the Florentines gave shelter to the rebels of Montepulciano, and permitted them to pass through the Chiana valley to attack that city. At the same time the Siense refused repeated appeals for

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Capitoli*, Num. d'ord. 214, 1498, Settembre 14.

active assistance from the Pisans and Lucchesi. Pandolfo would not show himself openly hostile to Florence, fearing that if he dared to risk all, his enemies, with the aid of the Florentines, might succeed in depriving him of his office.

In the years 1499 and 1500 the ambitious schemes of the new allies, the Pope and the King of France, altered the whole aspect of Italian politics. Louis had long wished to wrest the Duchy of Milan from Ludovico Sforza. Alexander desired to extend the States of the Church, and to make of them one great principality under his son, Cæsar Borgia. To cement their alliance, a French marriage was arranged for Cæsar, the king giving him one of his nieces, a beautiful girl of sixteen, to wife. The marriage concluded, each of the allies set out to achieve his ends. In October 1499, Louis gained the prize he had set his heart upon: he rode into Milan amidst the joyous shouts of the people. The fall of the Sforza gave Cæsar Borgia his opportunity. Her uncle a fugitive, Caterina Sforza, the lady of Forlì and Imola, was now without powerful friends. Cæsar determined to seize her principality, which his father claimed as a part of the States of the Church. In spite of the heroic resistance of the brave "virago," Cæsar effected his purpose, and bore the Countess as a prisoner to Rome.

Alarmed by the successes of the allies, Pandolfo hastened to conclude alliances both with the Borgia and with Louis. In the treaty between Siena and Louis it was stipulated that the French king should take Siena under his protection, and defend it against all its enemies. On their side, the citizens promised to recognise the king's enemies as their enemies, and his friends

as their friends, and to enter into no league without his approval. The Sienese elected a French nobleman captain-general of the forces of the Republic, with the allowance of five hundred gold ducats a year, on condition that he promised to maintain them in the possession of Montepulciano and all other of their territories. The value of this treaty was discounted by the fact that Louis also made a treaty with Florence, by which he promised to help that city to recover Pisa, and all of its lands that had been occupied by the Pisans and the Lucchesi.

In a similar way Pandolfo was driven to conclude a treaty with Cæsar Borgia, the Sienese engaging to furnish the Duke with ammunition and provisions for his attack upon the lordship of Piombino. Alarm at the rapid progress of the Duke in the Romagna had led many small princelings to take service under him. Amongst them were Vitellozzo Vitelli of Città di Castello, the Orsini of Pitigliano, Oliverotto, Lord of Fermo, Guidobaldo of Urbino, Giovanni Bentivoglio of Bologna, and the Baglioni of Perugia. Although outwardly servile, these *condottieri* chieftains hated Cæsar Borgia, and cursed under their breath the Pope's bastard.

Knowing their true feelings, Pandolfo encouraged them to conspire against their lord, with the result that, in the autumn of 1502, a secret league was formed at the Castle of Mugione on the shores of tranquil Trasimene. But this confederacy came to naught; as every member of it was a second-rate man, a plotter who had no confidence in himself or in his comrades. Cæsar smiled as one *condottiere* after another sought with feverish anxiety to win his favour by betraying

the rest of the precious crew of conspirators. At the same time, realising that no motive but fear would bind any one of them to him, he felt that it was necessary to give them a lesson, and "to show that he could make and unmake men at his will, according to their deserts." He arranged therefore to confer with his reconciled generals, the two Orsini, Oliverotto of Fermo and Vitellozzo Vitelli, at Senigallia. Having got them in his power, Oliverotto and Vitellozzo were strangled. The Orsini were made prisoners and were also ultimately put to death. "It is well," said Cæsar, "to beguile those who have shown themselves to be masters of treachery."

But this success did not satisfy the Duke. He resolved to effect the ruin of Pandolfo, regarding him as the "brain of the conspirators."¹ He declared that he had no hostility to the Sienese, but that he wished to deliver them from the rule of a tyrant. In vain did the Signory of Siena protest that Pandolfo was no tyrant, but a most modest citizen—in vain did they assert that he had never in reality taken part in any conspiracy against the Duke. In vain did they announce that the members of all the *Monti* were at one in their determination to defend Pandolfo with their lives. Cæsar was persistent. He insisted on Pandolfo's expulsion from the city. On the refusal of the citizens to comply with the demand he entered Sienese territory with an army of 15,000 men, devastating the country around him as he marched towards Siena. The members of the *Balia* still remaining obstinate in their devotion, Valentino grew louder in his threats. Finally, an ultimatum was sent

¹ Machiavelli, *Opere*, Florence, 1845, p. 825 ; Letter of Jan. 10, 1503.

to the Signory by the hand of Cæsar's chancellors. Its members felt that there was no course open to them but to yield. They agreed that Petrucci should be sent away from the city, on condition that Cæsar Borgia at once quitted the territory of the Republic and promised not to attempt to change the form of the government of Siena.¹

But Pandolfo still lingered. He hoped that peremptory orders would shortly arrive from the King of France bidding Borgia to desist immediately from his attack on Siena. Enraged at the delay, Cæsar declared that if Pandolfo was not expelled forthwith, he would totally exterminate both the Sieneese and their city. At last Pandolfo decided to take to flight. Leaving Siena, amidst the lamentations of the citizens, he rode to Lucca, followed hard by some of Cæsar's *bravi* who had been ordered to assassinate him. He succeeded, however, in arriving at his destination without having suffered any injury.

Cæsar had gone too far. The French ambassador had warned him that Siena was under the special protection of the most Christian king, and Louis now demanded the immediate restoration of Pandolfo. Cæsar and the Pope protested, but they were compelled to yield. After two months' absence Pandolfo came back to Siena, amidst much rejoicing. "And so," he writes, "by the will of God, accompanied by the orators of the most Christian king and with a great concourse of the citizens and nobility of Siena,

¹ See Lisini, *Cesare Borgia e la repubblica di Siena*, in the *Bull. Sen. di Stor. Pat.*, anno vii. (1900), fasc. i., pp. 114, 115 and pp. 144-146. Lisini gives all the documents in full. The date of the treaty between Cæsar and the Republic is January 24, 1503.

peacefully and without tumult or outcry of any kind, returned to my sweet fatherland.”¹

Thus Pandolfo's power was more firmly established than ever before. His apparent willingness to undergo voluntary exile rather than that his native city should suffer the miseries of a siege, convinced the populace of the genuineness of his patriotism. In the eyes of his admirers, his head was surrounded by the aureole of the martyr. He had suffered for the sake of the State. The death of Alexander VI a few months after Pandolfo's return, rendered his position yet more secure. After this event Cæsar could no more hope to be able to avenge himself on his adversary.

Pandolfo had returned to Siena by the help of the French king. He was soon to have an opportunity of showing how little he allowed himself to be influenced by feelings of gratitude. Early in 1504, the French were defeated by the Spaniards on the Garigliano, and lost Naples. Shortly after this defeat, Bartolommeo d'Alviano, the Spanish general, realising that Florence was the most powerful ally of the French in Central Tuscany, determined to destroy the power of that city. Pandolfo decided to throw in his lot with the Spaniards. The Genoese had already combined with the Pisans and Lucchesi with the intention of crippling their old enemy. The hopes of Lucca and Pisa ran high. The Florentines seemed to be in a very dangerous position.

Nevertheless Pandolfo thought it wise to hedge a little. He therefore wrote a letter to Louis, in which he hypocritically bewailed the warlike tendencies of

¹ See Pandolfo's letter to the Ten of Balìa of Florence, published by C. Paoli in the *Bull. Sen. di Stor. Pat.*, anno i. (1894), fasc. i. ii., p. 109.

the Florentines, representing himself as a misunderstood person, whose one desire was to live peaceably with all men. But Pandolfo's attempts to deceive were, as usual, futile. Louis was made aware of his treachery, and was very enraged at the bad faith and ingratitude of the despot of Siena.

The great league against Florence came to nothing. Pandolfo was afraid to take a decided line, and growing, day by day, more fearful, he began, after his usual fashion, to secure his own safety by revealing to the enemy the plans of his allies. Finally, on April 23, 1506, he renewed the old treaty with Florence, promising that he would no more support the Pisans if the Florentines would agree to make no attempt to retake Montepulciano. A year later he succeeded in coming to terms with the French king.

Never again did Pandolfo venture openly to assist Pisa; although he continued to supply her citizens with provisions, in as secret a manner as possible. Their position had indeed become hopeless. Their gallantry and self-sacrifice was all in vain. On June 8, 1509, their city fell into the hands of the Florentines.

After the fall of Pisa, the loss of Montepulciano was inevitable. Strong in her alliance with France, with her military forces set free to engage in further aggressive warfare, and possessing a port easy of access, Florence was now a formidable enemy. Pandolfo, anxious to be on good terms with the Florentines, soon showed himself disposed to restore to them Montepulciano without further ado. In fact, he commenced at once to negotiate privately with them on the subject of its cession. Finally, in August 1511,

in spite of the protests of the Sienese and of its own inhabitants, Montepulciano was handed over to the Florentines. The league between Florence and Siena was confirmed, and it was decided that Florence and Siena should live as sister cities.¹ A month later Pandolfo renewed his league with the King of France. Louis swore to defend the existing government of the Republic and to maintain Pandolfo and his sons in their position in the city.

The doom of Siena was now sealed. The disasters that had happened to Florence after the French invasion had given Siena an opportunity, her last opportunity, of overcoming her rival, and of becoming the chief city in Tuscany. This chance Pandolfo had thrown away. Fearful of losing his own position, he had hesitated to adopt a bold foreign policy. Instead of uniting with Pisa and Lucca to form a strong defensive coalition against the city on the Arno, he had trusted solely to a policy of deceit, a policy of temporary expedients. In the end no one trusted him except his own party in Siena. His alliances, such as they were, rested upon a very insecure basis.

It is, of course, doubtful whether Siena would have succeeded if she had adopted a policy of hostility to Florentine aggression. But no other course was open to her if she wished to preserve her existence as an independent state. Only by debarring Florence from gaining free access to the sea, and by maintaining the control of the great road to Rome could she hope to prevent her rival from becoming all-powerful in Tuscany. To allow Pisa to fall into the hands of

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Caleffetto*, c. 409, August 2, 1511, also *Capitoli*, Num. d'ord. 242.

the Florentine republic, and to hand over to that state Montepulciano, was to commit political suicide.

Pandolfo believed, however, that he had achieved the main purpose of his life. He had established himself as supreme ruler in his native city, and had secured the succession to his children. Already suffering from the malady that caused his death, he determined to abdicate in favour of his eldest son. And so, in February 1512, when he was just sixty years of age, he arranged that Borghese Petrucci should take all his public offices and magistracies.

Besides his ill-health, Pandolfo had another reason for wishing to be freed from the pressure of politics. He had become infatuated with the beauty of a girl of the people, the daughter of a smith and wife of a saddler, "Caterina of Via Salicotto." To the service of this mistress, whose tall, statuesque figure had won for her the soubriquet of "the two-handed sword," Pandolfo devoted the remaining days of his life.

The end soon came. In May he went to the baths of S. Filippo. But as the treatment there made him worse rather than better he set out on the twentieth of that month to return to Siena. On the following day he reached San Quirico-in-Osenna, and feeling tired he went to bed. A few hours later when one of the company went to see his lord, he found him dead. Pandolfo was buried with great pomp in the sacristy of the Osservanza, a mile from his native city.

The power that Pandolfo had built up, quickly dwindled away. Incompetent, truculent, tactless, Borghese Petrucci soon became the best-hated man in Siena. Four years after his father's death, he had to flee the city, and both he and his brother Fabio were

declared rebels. By the influence of Leo X, their cousin Raffaello Petrucci, afterwards a cardinal, was put in Borghese's place.

In the year 1522 Raffaello died, and a section of the *Nove* succeeded in bringing about the return of Fabio, who married Caterina de' Medici, niece of the Pope. But his supporters soon repented of what they had done. Relying upon the favour of Clement VII and upon his connection with the ruling house of Florence, he surpassed his brother in insolence and immorality. After a rule of less than two years he was again compelled to take to exile. "Thus," says Ferrari, "the Petrucci returned again to their primitive obscurity."

Pandolfo Petrucci was essentially a child of his age, the age of Cæsar Borgia and of Machiavelli. In his principles and conduct he differed little from the petty tyrants of other Italian cities, the Malatesta, the Vitelli, the Baglioni, and the Bentivogli. He was certainly not a great political genius. He had no wide far-reaching plans. He had none of the iron determination, the *terribilità*, the masterfulness of the great usurpers of history. The Pope, it is said, once asked Antonio da Venafro by what means his master succeeded in maintaining his sway over the restless inhabitants of Siena. "By lies, Holy Father," was the secretary's laconic reply. This witness was true. Incapable of obtaining his ends by force he resorted to fraud. His chief weapons were lies, and these he used somewhat clumsily. He had sufficient perspicacity to choose for his assistant and envoy a man of excellent judgment and resource, a man for whom Machiavelli had a great admiration.¹ But this act of wisdom does not suffice to establish his

¹ Machiavelli, *Il Principe*, edited by L. A. Burd, Oxford, 1891, p. 347.

title to greatness. Neither his aims, nor his powers were those of the highest type of statesman. And yet no mere mediocrity would have succeeded in winning and keeping supreme power in so turbulent and lawless a city as Siena.

Pandolfo was not like Lorenzo de Medici himself a man of letters, but he shared with other despots of the period of the Renaissance a love of literature and of the arts. He was a benefactor of the University and a friend of scholars.¹ He rebuilt in part the Church of the Osservanza, and that of S. Spirito, as well as other public edifices. He was an intelligent patron of the arts. The young Sodoma painted his portrait.² Giacomo Cozzarelli built him a palace; Signorelli and Genga³ and Pintoricchio⁴ decorated its walls; the Sienese masters of majolica made beautiful its floor with their *ambrogette*.⁵ Finally, he merited the gratitude of his fellow-citizens by his persistent efforts to improve the streets and squares of the city, and to bring more sweetness and light to the inhabitants of the dark, ill-smelling byways of old Siena.⁶

¹ Lanzilotto Politi, in his *Sconfitta di Montaperti*, a book dedicated to Pandolfo, says, "that there were none who did not know the prudence, liberality, clemency, humanity and magnificence of his rule." "Under it," he adds, "our most fortunate Republic lives happy, prosperous, and at peace." Politi's book contains several high-flown eulogies of the popular tyrant.

² In the inventory of Sodoma's property, taken after his death, a portrait of Pandolfo Petrucci is mentioned. An engraved portrait of Pandolfo, said to be from an original work by Baldassare Peruzzi, forms the frontispiece of the first volume of Pecci's *Memorie Storico-Critiche della Città di Siena*.

³ Of Genga's frescoes two are in the Siena Gallery, one, the *Triumph of Chastity*, is in the National Gallery, and Dr Ludwig Mond owns another.

⁴ One of the frescoes painted by Pintoricchio in the Petrucci Palace is now in the National Gallery.

⁵ Some of the tiles of Pandolfo's palace are now in the South Kensington Museum.

⁶ Pecci, *op. cit.*, Parte prima, p. 277.

LA SCONFICTA DI MONTE APERTO.



Don. Don Barthol. Corz. de Angustis

FRONTISPIECE TO LANZILOTTO POLITI'S "SCONFITTA DI MONTAPERTI."

[To face p. 214.]

CHAPTER XIV

THE BATTLE OF CAMOLLIA, AND THE EXPULSION OF THE SPANIARDS

PANDOLFO PETRUCCI had proved himself unable to establish a dynasty, or to effect any permanent change in the government of the city. His was no constructive genius. He was merely a political trickster, quick at devising temporary expedients. Every week brought some new difficulty or revealed some new danger. Every week found him ready with some means to avoid the one or to evade the other. His policy was dependent for such success as it had upon his own personality. When that was revived, the city which he had dominated returned to its previous state of turbulence. After his death, the faction-fights recommenced, and were contested with the old vehemence. Whilst Sodoma and his followers were decorating the walls of palaces, churches and oratories with presentations of gentle Madonnas, of saints in ecstasy, and of the Prince of Peace, good Christians, men of the same race and country, were continually slaying each other in the streets of Siena.

The chief of the warring Orders were the *Noveschi* and the *Libertini*. The *Libertini* were a new party, of extreme democratic views, which had come into existence in the days of Borghese Petrucci. Their aim, they said, was to rid the city of tyrants. Bitterly

opposed to the new aristocracy, they became at once the chief opponents of the party of the Nine.

After the expulsion of Fabio Petrucci, the *Noveschi* chose for their leader a member of a distinguished Sienese family, Alessandro Bichi. At the same time, realising the weakness of their position in view of the constant growth of their opponents in numbers, energy, and solidarity, they reverted to their old policy by uniting themselves with Florence and the Papal party. They became the submissive allies of the Medici Pope, Clement VII, whose aim it was to further the interests of Florence and of his own house.

With the help of the supreme pontiff's new allies, the French, the *Noveschi* succeeded in reforming the government of the city. A large force under John Stewart, Duke of Albany, which was on its way to Naples, tarried for some time at Siena.¹ The citizens were apparently submissive, but the unpopularity of the ruling faction grew day by day. The *Libertini* denounced this attempt to overawe the city with the help of foreign soldiery. They were now enabled to pose as the patriotic party.²

The opportunity of the democrats was not long in coming, and they at once turned it to account. On February 24, 1525, the French army was almost annihilated at Pavia. The *Libertini* at once rose in insurrection. The cry of "Libertà! Libertà!" again rang through the streets. Fighting with the utmost bravery against their heavily-armed opponents, the democratic party were soon in possession of the city.

¹ Pecci, *op. cit.*, Prima Parte, p. 146. Malavolti, *op. cit.*, Terza Parte, ff. 123, 124.

² Malavolti, *op. cit.*, Terza Parte, f. 124^t.

Alessandro Bichi, the leader of the Nine, was slain in the struggle.

The Medici Pope determined to punish the Sienese, and to reinstate his accommodating allies in the government of the city. A Genoese fleet under Andrea Doria attacked and captured the ports of the Maremma. At the same time Clement sent against Siena a strong force, led by the chief generals of the league. The Papal army was composed of 7600 men—infantry, cavalry, artillery; and it was joined by a force of Florentines numbering 2200 men. The invading host encamped outside the Camollia Gate.

The citizens called upon their protectress the Virgin Mary to help them to defend their liberty. Once more they appealed to her to deliver them from the hands of the Florentines and their Papal allies. Once more they cried to her to intercede with her Son to aid them in their struggle against His own vicar on earth. Again the rulers of Siena offered her the keys of their city in her own cathedral. Again they proclaimed her the sovereign lady of their State.

It seemed to them as though their prayers were miraculously answered. With but a hundred cavalry, and having but a few pieces of artillery, the citizen levies met and put to flight a large force, consisting for the most part of trained soldiers, well equipped, and led by the ablest generals of the time.¹ On the morning of July 25, 1526, the Sienese forces issued forth from the

¹ Ammirato, endeavouring to account for the defeat of the Florentines, says that their soldiers had no experience in war. This was only true of a portion of the enemy. The majority of them had had experience of war, and a considerable portion of them were well-trained soldiers. The invading army as a whole was infinitely better equipped and better trained than were the citizen bands opposed to them.

gates of Fontebranda and Camollia. After some fighting they succeeded in capturing the enemy's artillery. The victory was already in their hands, when from the Mangia Tower the great city bell began to toll, summoning the people to go to the aid of the citizen forces. When the sound of the bell reached the ears of the besieging army their defeat became a rout. The Papal and Florentine troops took to headlong flight.¹

The Sienese returned to their city in triumph, laden with the rich loot of the Papal camp and bearing with them the captured cannon of the enemy. Crowned with laurel and olive, the victors made their way to the Duomo, to return thanks to *Sua Divina Maestà*, the city's Guardian. The glories of Montaperti pale before those of Camollia. At Montaperti the two armies were fairly evenly matched. At Camollia the Sienese had no large foreign force to assist them, no large detachments of trained cavalry. Opposed by a powerful army, they had to rely solely upon their own valour.²

The advance of the imperial troops through Italy and the subsequent sack of Rome prevented the Pope from renewing his attempt to subjugate Siena. The *Libertini* remained the masters of the city.

But the new Government, like that which had preceded it, was not able to stand alone. Italy had again become one great battlefield. Francis was a prisoner, but the Holy League of Cognac continued the fight against Charles. Siena's neighbours had taken the side of the Pope and of France. The little State had need

¹ Pecci, *op. cit.*, Part ii., pp. 218-231.

² The *tavoletta di Biccherna* of 1527-28 is a representation of this event. It is amongst those *tavolette* exhibited at the Archivio. See Lisini, *Le tavolette dipinte di Biccherna e di Gabella*, del R. Arch. di Stato in Siena, Siena, 1902.

of allies, and so was driven more and more into the arms of the Emperor.

After the imperial forces had entered Florence, the Government commenced negotiations with Don Ferrante Gonzaga. The result was that Charles' general was given permission to lead a portion of his army through Sienese territory. On October 1, 1530, the potters, who inhabited the quarters round about the San Marco Gate, could see the Spanish banner flying above the castles of Rosia and Torri. From that day the independence of Siena ceased. Imperial troops were quartered in every *Terzo* of the city. A council chosen to reform the government introduced some drastic changes. A body of two hundred Spaniards took the place of the native guards of the Palazzo Pubblico. The statutes of the Republic were reformed, and the Nine were restored to their political rights. A foreign and military officer, nominated by the imperial vicar, was placed in command of the civic forces. The imperial representative was now the ruler of Siena.

In "the sweet month of April, 1536," the Emperor himself visited the city. For the nonce the old Ghibelline spirit seemed to live again in her citizens. Fifty young nobles of Siena met Charles half a mile from the Porta Romana. Throwing themselves from their horses they drew near to him, and with one voice cried "*Imperio ! Imperio !*" So fervid was their enthusiasm that they kissed his hands, his feet, his trappings, nay ! his very charger itself. A little nearer the gate he was welcomed by the Captain of the People, the College of the *Balia*, and other officials, together with a number of the clergy, secular and regular. At the head of this

procession were a hundred beautiful children of noble birth, clad in white and gold, bearing in their hands branches, and garlands of flowers entwined with olive. Siena herself was arrayed like a bride to meet her lord. The palaces that lined the narrow streets were bright with brocades and Eastern carpets, with festoons of flowers and painted banners. Beautiful women looked down from Gothic windows upon the imperial cavalcade. Ten thousand voices shouted lustily — “Welcome, Charles our Emperor!”¹

Charles gave his subjects a considerable amount of good advice. He exhorted them to live in peace and concord amongst themselves. He took the city for his own, for better, for worse. He swore by his crown that come what might he would rather lose his life and State than fail to help Siena whenever she needed his assistance.

The exhortations of the Emperor and the efforts of successful imperial lieutenants were all in vain. The old struggles were renewed within the city. *Noveschi* and *Popolani* were continually coming to blows. Notwithstanding the presence of the Spanish garrison, “there was much murther and privie hatred among the citizens.”² The disease of the community could not yield to any ordinary treatment. At last, in the year 1547, Charles decided to carry out a plan he had long had in mind: he determined to build a fortress in Siena.

The imperial commander in the city at that time

¹ *Carlo Quinto in Siena, relazione di un contemporaneo, pubblicato per cura di Pietro Vigo*, Bologna, Romagnoli, 1884, pp. 15-30.

² Sir Thomas Hoby, MS. Diary in British Museum (Egerton MSS., 2148), fol. 27. Hoby spent some weeks in Siena in the autumn of 1549. He dined with Mendoza, who knew England well. The Spanish commander had twice visited our country, and on one occasion was here for fifteen months.

was the great Hurtado de Mendoza. Mendoza, when a youth, had studied law at the university of Siena, and was not unknown to the citizens. A soldier and a diplomatist, a courtier and a poet, a linguist and a historian, the Spanish general was one of the most brilliant men of his age. A people as deeply imbued with the culture of the Renaissance as the Sienese, were by no means likely to be insensible to the charm of such a personality. Both his intellectual gifts and his gracious manners won for Mendoza many friends. The men of Siena were proud of owning him as a fellow *alumnus* of their great university. The ladies of the city, who, after the manner of such professional beauties as Tullia d'Arragona, worshipped Minerva as well as Venus¹ were attracted by this gallant soldier-poet. But the Spaniard's velvet glove concealed an iron hand. He proved himself to be an astute and determined administrator of the imperial policy. In spite of the protests of the people and the tears and prayers of Girolamo Tolomei, the Sienese ambassadors at the imperial court, the Emperor persisted in his resolution. Charles, in fact, was at last fairly roused. He declared that the Sienese were both a danger to themselves and to their neighbours, and that only by the construction of a fortress would it be possible to secure concord in the city. The work, he said, was to be hurried forward with all possible speed. The old towers of the nobles of Siena were still standing in every quarter of the

¹ For an interesting account of the poetesses of Siena, see Lisini's interesting article entitled *Le Poetesse Senesi degli ultimi anni della Repubblica di Siena*, in the *Misc. Stor. Sen.*, vol. v. (1898), pp. 33-38. Domenichi's well-known collection, *Rime diverse d'alcune nobilissime et virtuosissime donne* (Lucca, 1559), contains several poems by Sienese women. Hoby tells us that "most of the women" of the city were "well-learned, and wrote excellentlie well bothe in prose and verse,"

city as thick as trees in a forest. For two centuries much use had been made of them in the ceaseless faction-fights. These numerous instruments of disorder were now to be destroyed, and of the material that composed them was to be forged one massive weapon of order, a weapon which would crush entirely—so its makers dreamed—the lawless nature of the Sienese. “If the towers do not suffice,” cried the Emperor, “pull down the palaces. This castle must be built.”¹

The site chosen for the new fortress was the hill of San Prospero, near San Domenico, where now are the gardens of the Lizza. Here Mendoza commenced to build. The citizens continued to send protests and prayers to the Emperor, their “idol,” but all in vain. The “idol” was inexorable. “The castle,” he said, “was the only safe medicine for the malady of the State.”²

In their despair, the citizens determined again to offer their city to the Virgin, their protectress, as they had done before Montaperti and before Camollia. The Signory went in solemn state to the Duomo, “without sound of trumpet or any pomp,” followed by a vast crowd of the citizens. Mass was said, and the priors received the communion. The Signor Prior offered a long extemporary prayer to the Virgin, beseeching her to change the heart of the Emperor and to preserve them in that “dear liberty,” which they had hitherto enjoyed under her guardianship and protection. The keys of Siena were then solemnly presented to the city’s Protectress.

¹ Tommasi, *Istoria*; MS. in the Bibl. Com. di Sena, Cod. A. X. 74, fol. 423.

² Aquarone, *Gli ultimi anni della storia Repubblicana di Siena* (1551-1555). *La cacciata degli Spagnuoli*, pp. 209, 210.

Whilst these events were in progress, Mendoza was in Rome. He was very incensed at the proceedings of the Signory. As a Catholic he resented strongly the assumption that the Blessed Virgin was the ally of the anti-Spanish faction in Siena. He wrote and told the Sienese that he hoped very soon to offer to the Madonna the keys of his new castle at Siena.¹

On his return to the city he sent to Lombardy for considerable reinforcements. The excitement in Siena grew day by day. A new embassy was sent to the Emperor. A meeting of the General Council was summoned by the Priors, and the Abate Lelio Tolomei made an eloquent speech full of patriotism and piety. In faithful words he pointed out to his fellow-countrymen that it was their own factiousness that had brought this trouble upon them. It was their cursed *Ordini* or *Monti*, he said, that had divided and destroyed the city. He bade all the citizens to go into mourning and to humble themselves before God, and to pray Him to succour their fatherland from slavery.²

In February 1551, Count Achille d'Elci Pannocchieschi, one of the ambassadors sent to Charles, returned to Siena. He related how the Emperor had refused to listen to the appeal of the citizens and had indignantly tossed on one side the new memorial of the Signory. The words of Pannocchieschi filled Siena with grief and dismay. Special prayers were at once ordained in the churches. Processions were quickly organised; and at nightfall wild companies of flagellants beat themselves in the streets of the city. In the midst of the popular excitement there appeared

¹ Aquarone, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

² *Ibid.* pp. 212-219.

a tatterdemalion prophet, Brandano da Petroio, a tertiary of the Order of St Augustine, foretelling the end of the Spanish rule. "Do what you will," he cried to the Spaniards, "this castle will not be finished. *Nisi Dominus ædificaverit domum, in vanum laboraverunt qui ædificant eam.*"¹ Mendoza, although a child of the Renaissance, was a true Spaniard. The religious fanaticism of Brandano appealed to something deep down in his own nature. He was haunted by vague doubts. "Either this man is mad," he said, "or he is a prophet of God." And when the prophet had plotted to assassinate him as the minion of a tyrant, Mendoza did not cause any severe sentence to be passed upon him, but contented himself with sending Brandano away from Siena.

Despairing at last of altering the resolution of the Emperor, some of the Sienese who had been sent into exile began to conspire together to overthrow the Spanish rule. Their leader was a member of the popular party, a certain Giovan Maria Benedetti. He had been a great traveller, and had earned for himself the nickname of Giramondo. He had sailed with Cortes to America, and was the founder of Vera Cruz.² Sick at heart at seeing his dear country subjugated and deprived of her liberty, he had left Siena with the determination to do all that he could to restore to her liberty. Benedetti had taken up his residence in Rome. There he had entered the service of the French ambassador, the Cardinal de Tournon. With

¹ Sozzini, *Diario delle cose avvenute in Siena, dai 20, Luglio 1550 ai 28 Giugno 1555*. Florence, G. P. Vieusseux, 1842, p. 38. Sozzini's *Diary* was issued as the second volume of the *Arch. Stor. Ital.* for 1842.

² See an article by F. Bandini Piccolomini in the *Misc. Stor. Sen.*, vol. iii, (1895), pp. 91, 92,

the concurrence of Lelio Tolomei, he gave Tournon to understand that the Sienese would be willing to accept the protection of the King of France, did Henry help them to rid themselves of the tyranny of Spain.¹ The struggle with Charles was just recommencing. The Emperor's attempt to impose by force his solution of the religious difficulty upon the Protestant Princes of Germany had provoked open rebellion. Maurice of Saxony had thrown in his lot with the Princes. Henry, thinking this a suitable opportunity for recommencing the struggle with France's old enemy, allied himself with Charles' revolted subjects and invaded Lorraine. The Cardinal realised that Siena could be valuable to France as a base for military operations in central and southern Italy. He therefore told Benedetti and his co-conspirators that Siena might rely upon French assistance did she revolt against the Spanish rule.

The exiles now began to take active steps to bring about the expulsion of the Spaniards. Companies of troops were secretly formed in various parts of the Sienese *contado*. Enea Piccolomini, a young man of rare energy, who had himself been a friend of Mendoza, was elected chief of the rebel forces. He quickly organised the scattered portions of his army. Marching from different points and by different routes, they were to come together in the neighbourhood of Siena on July 26, 1552.

The appointed day came. Piccolomini's little army was drawn up outside the walls of the city near the Porta Nuova. In vain did Don Franzese, Mendoza's lieutenant, strive to prevent an insurrection. On the

¹ Sozzini, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 43.

night of the 28th, towards twelve o'clock, eight young men in Siena assaulted some Spanish soldiers. In a moment the whole of the *Terzo* of San Martino was in a blaze. "Francia! Francia! Libertà! Libertà!" was heard on all sides. Lamps and torches were placed in all the windows. "The city was so full of light that it seemed as though the sun had risen."

The movement spread rapidly through all the city. The men of the *Terzo di Città* seized Porta Tufi, and by that gate Piccolomini entered. The Spaniards retreated towards the great Piazza, the women showering stones upon them from the windows as they hurried through the narrow winding streets. Thus did they avenge the outrages they had suffered at the hands of the Spanish soldiery.

Although reinforced by four hundred Florentine troops sent by Duke Cosimo, the Spaniards were unable to check the progress of the insurrection. Retreating from the Piazza the two foreign companies took up their quarters at Campansi. At nightfall, however, tidings reached the Spanish and Florentine commanders that a thousand arquebusiers sent by the Count of Pitigliano,¹ had arrived in Siena. They learnt, too, that large French reinforcements were at the gates. Thoroughly alarmed, they ordered their men to retire to the fortress. The city was left in the possession of the insurgents. The report of the approach of a French army proved to be true. A large force, sent by Cardinal Farnese, took up its quarters in the city.² For the moment the Sienese were safe. They had now at their disposal 10,000 troops.

¹ Sozzini, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

² Pecci, *op. cit.*, Terza Parte, p. 271.

When Mendoza first heard, at Perugia, of the victory of the Sienese, he swore that they would not keep their liberty for eight days. But on learning how events were progressing he began to fear for the safety of his men. Duke Cosimo was also alarmed. The Pope sought to persuade him to put an end to the war, pointing out that its continuance would endanger all the Tuscan States. Negotiations, therefore, were commenced between the Florentines and the Sienese. It was agreed that the Florentine army should be allowed to quit the fortress with all the honours of war; that each combatant should give up all castles and lands taken in the recent struggle; that the Sienese Republic should be left free and unmolested, whilst still acknowledging the Emperor as its protector and friend.¹ It was also stipulated that Don Franzese was to be permitted to make peace on the same terms as the Florentines, should he desire to do so. No course was open to the Spaniards but to agree to the terms of the treaty. Preparations were at once made for the capitulation of the fortress.

On August 5, 1552, the Spanish and Florentine armies marched out of the castle. Many of the young men of the town lined the walls overlooking San Prospero to see them depart. Don Franzese was in the last line. As he passed along, some of the Sienese saluted the Spanish commander. And one of them, Ottavio Sozzini, a member of a distinguished family, thus addressed him: "Signor Don Franzese, whether friend or foe, I say that of a truth thou art a worthy gentleman, and that, saving the interests of the

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Calefetto*, c. 404-408, and *Capitoli*, Num. d'ord. 257-258

Republic, I, Ottavio Sozzini, am, and shall ever be, thy friend and servant." With tears in his eyes Franzese replied: "I thank you for your kind feelings about myself, and I shall never give you cause to change them." Then turning himself to the group of young Sienese on the wall he addressed them as a body. "You valorous Sienese have done a very glorious deed. But, for the future, bear yourselves with prudence, because you have offended too great a man."¹

The French commander, Lansach, with a company of French infantry, at once occupied the citadel. He sent without delay for the Captain of the People. A procession was formed in the Grand Piazza. Preceded by the standard of the Virgin Mary, "the Lady of Siena," the Captain of the People, the chief officers of the State, the local aristocracy, the clergy and friars, and an immense number of the common people of the city marched to the fortress. On their arrival there, Lansach came to the gates to meet them. He congratulated them on having won their liberty. "Because this place," he said, "was the means of your enslavement, on this spot your liberty is restored to you, and the castle itself is placed in your hands. My King desires of you no other recompense than that you recognise in such a gift the hand of God, and that you are not forgetful of him through whose help your liberty was regained."

The Captain of the People thanked Lansach in the name of the city. "We offer," he said, "our persons, our children, and our goods to the King our benefactor, and we assure him of the love and devotion that the

¹ Sozzini, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

Sienese have for him." Turning to the people, he concluded his speech with the words, "Libertà! Libertà! Francia! Francia!" The cry was at once taken up by the crowd. The walls of the stark fortress re-echoed the words which proclaimed its doom.

The Captain of the People took possession of the citadel, and gave the signal for its demolition. With tears of joy, the people at once began, at various points, to destroy its walls. Working hard with picks and spades, with stone-chisels, and hammers, "they cast down as much in the space of an hour as it had taken four months to build." Piccolomini, the Sienese general, took charge of the weapons, ammunition, and armaments of the fortress. Thirty great cannon were borne away and placed in front of the Palazzo Pubblico.¹

On the three following days there was *festà*. During this time the destruction of the fortress was completed. Joy and good-will reigned throughout the city. On the last of the three days of holiday the old Madonna of the Duomo was carried in solemn procession. It was a day of reconciliation and rejoicing. An amnesty was granted to all the Order of the *Nove*. Old causes of discord were forgotten. The citizens determined to make an earnest attempt to dwell together in unity, and to work as one man for the liberty and welfare of the State.

Siena was sane again. After well-nigh three centuries of mad internecine strife, the courage, the self-sacrificing patriotism of her early days again filled the hearts of her citizens. But her recovery came too late. Undoubtedly, experience is the best of teachers; but, unfortunately, the lessons she imparts with such

¹ The *tavoletta di Biccherna* of 1551-52 is a representation of this event.

thoroughness are not apprehended, as a rule, until it is too late to make any effective use of them. It is not until the wretch is on the scaffold with the rope round his neck that he fully realises the purport of his mentor's instructions.

CHAPTER XV

THE SIEGE OF SIENA

I

A LITTLE city-state had defied the greatest emperor of the modern world. It was certain that Charles would spare no pains to restore his prestige in Tuscany, as soon as a cessation of hostilities in the north permitted him to turn his attention again to Italian affairs. But for the moment the Sienese were content to enjoy their newly-won liberties, regardless of future contingencies. It was the season of fruit, the season of the vintage, when the incubus of Spanish domination was removed. Summoned by nature to a banquet, the pleasure-loving inhabitants of "soft Siena" were not loathe to accept the invitation. They passed the golden days of a Tuscan autumn in sports and feasting; its nights in song and revelry. Not one of their own race, but a stranger, was the first to rouse them to a sense of their danger. It was the representative of the French king, Lucrezia Borgia's son, Ippolito da Este, Cardinal of Ferrara, who gave warning of the impending storm. Charles, he heard, had made peace with the German princes. The Treaty of Passau had set his hands free to punish lawless Siena; and with that object, a large force was being prepared at Naples. Then did the Sienese call to mind the parting words of Don Franzese. Conscious of their

danger, but not dismayed, they bravely set to work to strengthen their defences. All the *contrade* shared in the effort. In order that the time might pass more pleasantly, Ferrara ordered one of his guard, a cunning player upon the flute, to make music for the toiling citizens.

The Cardinal's warning did not come too soon. At the end of January, in the year 1553, the great imperial army had reached the Val di Chiana; and its leader, Don Pedro de Toledo, the Viceroy of Naples, had passed on to Florence to visit his son-in-law, the Duke Cosimo. But it was not by the agency of Don Pedro that Charles was to re-establish his authority in Western Tuscany. After passing a few short weeks in Florence, the Viceroy died. For three months longer his son, Don Garcia, continued the war. He ravaged the country to the south of Siena, and laid siege to Montalcino. The liberty of the Sienese was in danger. But once more, as in the year 1480, the Infidel brought salvation to the Virgin's city. In the month of June, the news reached him that Henry's ally, Solyman, had passed the Faro at Messina with a large Turkish fleet, and was speeding on under full sail to attack Naples. Acting upon imperial orders, Don Garcia raised the siege of Montalcino and hurried southwards. The citizens of Montalcino mounted their walls and played vigorously a barbarous recessional march, strengthening their improvised orchestra by the addition of kettles, saucepans, and brazen pots.

But the respite both of the Montalcinese and the Sienese was of short duration. Duke Cosimo very much resented the presence of a French army in Tuscany. For a time he hesitated to commence hos-

tilities. When, however, Piero Strozzi, his arch-enemy, the leader of the Florentine rebels, was sent to Siena as representative of the French king, Cosimo's wrath knew no bounds. He began at once to seek means to defeat his rival's plans.¹

Piero Strozzi was a member of one of the proudest and wealthiest of Florentine families, and was connected by marriage with the Medici. Together with his father, Filippo, and his brothers, Leone, Vincenzo, and Roberto, he had at one time been amongst the leading supporters of the reigning house. At first intimate associates of the debauched Duke Alessandro, the Strozzi had subsequently joined the rebel faction. After the murder of that prince, they took up arms against his youthful successor, Cosimo. They were soon hopelessly defeated. Filippo was made prisoner, and subsequently met death by his own hand. Piero took refuge at the French Court. From henceforth his one aim in life was to drive the Medici from Florence. He is said to have once declared that he could seek his country's liberty, in turn, from Heaven, the world, and the devil; and would acknowledge eternal obligations to whichever power granted his petition. To attain his ends, he sacrificed all other considerations, human and divine. Rich, handsome, energetic, a soldier and a courtier, a scholar and a man of affairs, he soon won the favour of the queen, who cordially hated her cousin, Duke Cosimo. With her help he succeeded in getting himself made commander-in-chief of all the French forces in Italy. The constable, Montmorency, favoured this appointment, as he was anxious to reduce the power of the Cardinal of Ferrara, who was a partisan of the Guises.

¹ Ammirato, *Istorie Fiorentine*, Florence 1641, Parte Seconda, vol. iii., p. 499.

Strozzi arrived in Siena on January 7, 1554, and took up his residence in the Spannocchi palace.¹ Cosimo at once began to make preparations for war. He chose as his commander-in-chief Giovanni Jacopo de' Medici,² Marquis of Marignano, a soldier of fortune, a man of remarkable energy and ability, who had won for himself a world-wide reputation for cruelty and determination. From the Emperor the Duke obtained 4000 Spanish and German troops. He was resolved, at all costs, to drive his arch-enemy, Strozzi, out of Siena.

Certainly, Cosimo had abundant cause for anxiety. On all sides his foes were active. The coming of Piero Strozzi brought hope to all the enemies of the Medici. The Florentine exiles in Rome began to organise themselves under the leadership of Bindo Altoviti, a wealthy merchant, father of the Archbishop of Florence. They took as their motto a line of Dante,

“Libertà vo' cercando ch'è sì cara.”

Even in Florence itself sedition was rampant. One morning the citizens awoke to find placards on the walls, full of violent abuse of Cosimo, and denouncing the imperial alliance.

Cosimo, however, kept his temper, and set to work with remarkable courage and astuteness, whilst he secretly hurried on his military preparations. He did all that he could to inspire Ferrara and the Sienese with the conviction that there was no immediate

¹ Now the Post-Office. It was built by Giuliano da Maiano for Ambrogio Spannocchi, treasurer of Pope Pius II. in 1471-73. See *Misc. Stor. Sen.*, vol. iii. (1895), p. 59.

² See *Vita di Giò. Jacopo de' Medici, Marchese di Marignano*, in the same volume as Montalvo's *Relazione della guerra di Siena*, Turin, 1863. See also Missaglia, *Vita di Gian. Giacomo Medici*, Milano, 1854.



COSIMO I.

[*Alinari.*]

From the Portrait in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence (Bronzino).

[*To face p. 234.*]

danger of attack. His aim was to take the city by surprise.

And in this he was almost successful. Marignano acted with the greatest secrecy and promptness. On January 26, without any warning, the *condottiere* crossed the frontier, and marched rapidly on Siena. At three o'clock in the afternoon a horseman galloped into the city, bearing the news to the Government. Immediately the great bell in the Mangia Tower began to clang, calling the citizens to arms. It was the passing bell of the Republic. It had scarcely ceased to sound before her executioners were knocking at her doors. A troop of Spanish horse rode up to the Camollia Gate; and one of them, thrusting his sword through a crack in the door, ribaldly demanded admission in the name of Hurtado de Mendoza.¹

The death-struggle of Siena had commenced. Uncowed by the suddenness of the attack, undismayed by the size of the hostile army, undaunted by the terror of Marignano's name, or by the threats of the Emperor, the Sienese strove nobly to save their city. Without panic, without confusion, they quickly organised their citizen forces, and set to work to strengthen the most vulnerable places, and especially the threatened Porta Camollia. Gentlemen and artisans, parish priests and friars, women and children, laboured harmoniously together at the defences, none scorning the meanest offices. Once again, for one brief period, as at the time of Montaperti, all the citizens were united.

Marignano's plan to take Siena by surprise having failed, he determined to blockade the city. He devastated the surrounding country, and seized one by one

¹ Sozzini, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

the towns and castles of the Sienese *contado*, putting to the sword all the inhabitants of those places that dared to offer any resistance. With the object of striking terror into the breasts of the *contadini*; and in order to prevent any fresh supplies from reaching the besieged, he hanged on the trees around Siena all peasants caught endeavouring to take provisions into the town. Nevertheless, the country folk did not desist from their attempts to do trade with the citizens.

In the month of March, a military success raised the hopes of the Sienese. Ascanio della Cornia, the Pope's nephew, who was serving in the Florentine army, had induced the Duke to allow him to lead an expedition into the Chiana valley. Caught by a ruse, the young general and a thousand of his men fell into the hands of the Sienese at Chiusi. Ascanio was led a captive to Siena.

But this piece of good fortune did not avail the Sienese much. Marignano, indeed, had not yet succeeded in completely blockading the town. But every week ingress and egress became more difficult. Every week saw additions made to the long list of neighbouring fortresses in the hands of the Marquis. In the month of April he captured both Belcaro and Monastero, so obtaining command of the road to the Maremma. The position of the citizens became more and more precarious.

In the meantime, Strozzi did not cease to send appeals for reinforcements to the King of France. He also begged his fellow-exiles, the majority of whom were in Rome, to help him with men and money. Nor were his prayers unanswered. The king promised to send him 3000 foot from the Grisons, and

a yet larger body of infantry from Piedmont, composed of Germans and Gascons. The Florentine *fuorusciti* pledged themselves to support a force of 2200 men whilst the war lasted. But neither from France nor from his fellow-countrymen could Strozzi obtain a sufficient force of cavalry. This difficulty, however, was soon partially overcome; for, with the help of the Cardinal of Ferrara, Strozzi succeeded in getting the promise of 1500 cavalry from Parma and Mirandola,¹ as well as of additional reinforcements of infantry from Lombardy.

Thus encouraged, Strozzi determined to take steps to relieve Siena and, at the same time, to achieve by one blow the object of his life. He summoned from Portercole his brother, the brave and popular Prior of Capua, who had been appointed Admiral of the French fleet in the Mediterranean. He also sent for Lansach, the Ambassador of the Most Christian King at the Court of Rome; but the great French soldier did not reach Siena in time to advise Piero. On the arrival of the Prior of Capua, a council of war was held, in which Cornelio Bentivoglio, who was in command of the infantry, and the Cardinal of Ferrara took part. All agreed to help actively the realisation of Strozzi's plan.²

It was arranged that Mirandola should be the rallying point of the corps from the Grisons and from Lombardy, as well as of the promised cavalry force; and that these troops should march in company, by way of Parma and through the Apennines, to Lucca. The Germans and Gascons from Piedmont were to

¹ Mirandola is about 30 miles due west of Ferrara, on the old road from Verona to Bologna.

² Pecci, *op. cit.*, Parte Quarta, pp. 144, 145. Montalvo, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 35.

embark on board the Algerian fleet at Marseilles, and to be conveyed to the Lucchese port of Viareggio. Strozzi, in command of an army of Italian and French troops, was to slip through the enemy's lines and to make his way, as quickly as possible to Lucca, to meet the levies from the north, and from France. Then, at the head of the combined forces, he was to march on Florence by way of Pistoia and Prato. Pistoia, he said, would open its gates, as the inhabitants were tired of the Duke's rule. In the meantime, Bindo Altoviti and the Florentine exiles at Rome were to assemble an army, and to attack the Duke's territory from the south, marching by way of the Val di Chiana. The Prior of Capua was to sail out from Portercole, and to ravage the Florentine littoral in the neighbourhood of Leghorn; and then, joining with the Algerian fleet after the disembarkation of the troops at Viareggio, he was to take Piombino, and subsequently proceed to Pisa.¹

This plan having been agreed upon, the members of the Council each went his way. The Cardinal left for Ferrara, promising to do his best to gain the assistance of the friends of the Most Christian King in the north. The Prior of Capua went to Portercole. Strozzi began making preparations for his approaching departure from Siena. Piero kept his true intentions a profound secret, even from his nearest friends. Marignano had no inkling of his plans. He was aware that a relieving force was being got ready in the north; but he concluded that they would come to Siena by way of the Romagna and Perugia.

Montalvo, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 43. Montalvo errs in saying that Lansach was at this conference: he arrived too late for it.

He did not think it possible that they would journey by way of Lucca, ford the Arno, and make their way to their destination through the enemy's country. Much less did he imagine that Strozzi could go to Lucca to meet them, and would succeed in getting his men across the river at a point where it was deemed well-nigh impassable.¹

Knowing, however, that important reinforcements were coming to the Sienese, Marignano began at once to make plans for intercepting them, and at the same time sought to get large additions to his own army. He asked the imperial Governor of Milan to prevent the men of the Grisons from joining the Count of Mirandola. He sent urgent requests for assistance to the Duke of Florence, the Emperor, and the Viceroy of Naples. He counselled Cosimo to persuade the Pope to prevent, if possible, the French army from passing through the States of the Church to Perugia. Nor were his efforts in vain. The Duke exerted himself to the utmost to increase the besieging army; and reinforcements of Spaniards from Corsica and from Naples were soon on their way to the camp.

Strozzi was not unaware of Marignano's preparations, but he believed that time was on his side. He thought that he would succeed in striking a decisive blow before the greater part of the imperial reinforcements had arrived. He led both friends and foes to believe that the relieving army from the north was coming to Siena by way of the States of the Church. The deluded Marignano proceeded to lay waste the country between Siena and Perugia, thinking that by doing this he was

¹ Ammirato, *ed. cit.*, Parte Seconda, vol. iii., pp. 517, 518. Montalvo, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

impeding the enemy's advance. Even in Siena not a man suspected Strozzi's true intentions. The inhabitants thought that the large force he was preparing was to be sent to oppose the Marquis in the Val di Chiana.¹

On June 11, 1554, all Siena was in confusion. The streets were crowded with armed men hurrying to and fro. In palace courtyards, arms were being furbished up, and servants were making ready all that their lords had need of for the expedition. In the public squares, beasts of burden were being laden with military stores. At eleven o'clock at night all was in readiness, and at midnight a convoy set off in silence from the Porta Fontebranda. An hour later the army began to pass out of the same gate. Without sound of drum or trumpet, Strozzi and his men passed noiselessly along the valley that divides San Domenico from the Duomo. Continuing their march at high speed, they soon reached Casole, a town on the border of the Florentine territory, where they rested for a day and a night.² Leaving there they passed almost under the walls of Volterra. On the evening of the 13th, they were at Pontedera. The following morning the whole army safely crossed the Arno.

Marignano was not uninformed of the setting forth of this force; but he underrated its numbers and misjudged its destination. When he learned that it had directed its march towards Casole and not to the Val di Chiana, he concluded that Strozzi

¹ Sozzini, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

² Roffia, *Racconti*, printed after Sozzini's *Diario*, in the second volume of the *Arch. Stor. Ital.* for 1842. Montalvo's account of Strozzi's movements does not quite agree with that of Roffia. I have followed Roffia, as he wrote a detailed account of Strozzi's march immediately after it occurred.

proposed to seize San Gemignano or Colle.¹ Of his rival's true objective he had no suspicion. Great, then, was his astonishment and mortification when a horseman arrived at his camp bringing the news that Strozzi was at Pontedera. The Duke ordered his general to follow the enemy with all possible speed. The Florentine infantry passed over the Arno in boats at marshy Fucecchio, within sight of tower-crowned San Miniato-al-Tedesco. His cavalry crossed the stream by the bridge at Signa. Pistoia was the common rallying point. From that town Marignano marched to Pescia. There news reached him that his opponent had succeeded in the first object of his expedition. Strozzi, he heard, had effected a juncture with the army under Mirandola at Ponte-a-Moriano near Lucca. Realising that the enemy's forces now far outnumbered his own, the Florentine commander retreated hurriedly to Pistoia, where he was reinforced by a force of 4400 men drawn from the besieging army at Siena.²

This was the crucial moment of the campaign. Cosimo was short of money. The mercenaries were discontented and heartily tired of the war. The people of Florence were famine stricken. Everything depended upon the arrival of the Algerian fleet. Had it, with the large force of Gascons, Germans and Provençals it carried, reached Viareggio at the appointed time, Strozzi's plan would probably have succeeded. The rapidity and unexpectedness of his attack had already struck terror into his opponents. Had he been joined by the reinforcements from France, his army would have far outnumbered that

¹ Montalvo, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

² Roffia, *Racconti*, pp. 550, 551.

of Marignano. And had he beaten Cosimo's general, Florence would have been at his mercy, and all the harvest of the Pistoiese and the rich Arno valley under his control. Even if, by some accident, Strozzi had failed in taking Florence, by storm, nevertheless the Duke's cause would have been hopeless.

Strozzi waited and waited, but no news came of the fleet. At last, sick of the delay, he rode backwards towards Lucca and, climbing a mountain near the town, he anxiously scanned the horizon. But no sign of the French ships could be seen. Every hour his position became more precarious. Marignano's force was continually growing in numbers, and Don Juan de Luna, with a large detachment of Milanese troops, was marching from Pontremoli to join him. Strozzi's hopes slowly dwindled away. He realised, with infinite mortification, that his great plan had failed.

The non-arrival of the Algerian fleet was entirely due to its admiral. He knew that when he reached the Italian coast, he, a Frenchman, would have to subordinate himself to the Prior of Capua, who had been appointed admiral of the Most Christian King in the Mediterranean. Unwilling to place himself under the control of another officer, and that officer a foreigner, he had hesitated to obey Strozzi's summons. Thus, through the selfish pride of one man, the hopes of the Sienese and their leader were shattered.

Bitterly disappointed though he was, Strozzi at once accepted the situation and took prompt action. It was useless to attack the Marquis. The best course to follow was to return to the neighbourhood of Siena. Marignano believed that it was impossible for his

opponent to get away. The Arno was swollen by rain, and Luna's cavalry, he thought, would render ineffectual any attempt to pass it. But he was deceived. Strozzi again eluded his enemies. He cleverly managed to get his men across the swollen river again, and reaching Pontedera, he set out again for Casole.

Strozzi's misfortunes, however, were not at an end. Whilst on the march he heard that couriers, bearing a large sum of money to him, from Ferrara, had fallen into the enemy's hands. And, upon reaching Casole, he received news of the death of his brother, the brave Prior of Capua, who had been mortally wounded in an assault on the little Tuscan port of Scarlino. Piero was overwhelmed with grief. His carefully-planned expedition had failed. His most beloved relative had been taken from him. For three days he would see no one. "Let things go as they will," he said. "As for me, I have lost all hope and whatever I valued in the world."

Weary and sick at heart, Strozzi led his men off to the Maremma to await the arrival of the promised succour from France. Marignano returned to Siena, setting up a camp outside the Porta Romana, and leaving a sufficient force to guard the forts at Camollia. A week later the tardy Algerian fleet reached Portercole. The Prior of Capua being now dead, the cause of the delay of the French relieving force was removed. The Sienese army which had been much weakened by wholesale desertions during its brief sojourn in the Maremma was now reinforced by 6000 well-armed troops. Marching from Portercole to Buonconvento, Strozzi was joined there by Bindo Altoviti

at the head of 3000 men, amongst whom were some of the flower of Florentine youth, burning to liberate their country from the Medici despotism. From Buonconvento the combined forces marched upon Siena.

Strozzi had now some reasonable hopes of victory. Both the Florentine exiles and the French had brought gold with them as well as men. He found himself adequately supplied with money and at the head of a large and well-equipped army. He had outwitted one of the greatest generals of the age. All Italy was ringing with the story of his brilliant march to Lucca. Marignano, on the other hand, had sunk in men's estimation as a general, because he had permitted his enemy to cross and recross an almost impassable river without attacking him. So high was Strozzi's prestige at this moment, that the imperialists were panic-stricken when they heard that he was coming. Hastily quitting their quarters near the Porta Romana, they retreated in some disorder to their old camp at Camollia.¹ Seeing their confusion, the beleaguered citizens made a sally and plundered the Spanish baggage which had been left insufficiently guarded.² By two deplorable blunders Strozzi was now to lose the splendid position he had gained, and to bring about his own ruin and the ruin of the Sienese cause.

II

Amongst those who came to the city with Strozzi was one who was destined to be the hero of the siege,

¹ Sozzini, *op. cit.*, pp. 259, 260.

² Montalvo, *op. cit.*, p. 72 ; Sozzini, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

Monsieur Blaise de Montluc, the brilliant author of the *Commentaires*, a book which Henry IV styled "The Soldier's Bible." Strozzi had long wished for a coadjutor. He saw that Marignano could only take the city by completing blockading it, and by starving the inhabitants. It was, therefore, Strozzi's object to render a complete blockade of Siena impossible and at the same time to reduce the number of mouths to be fed in and about the city. In order to effect his purpose it was necessary that another military base should be established at some distance from Siena. Another general, also, was required to take command in the city, as he himself proposed to take charge of the operations in the country. Strozzi, therefore, appealed to the French king to send him such an assistant. Henry asked Montmorency, Guise, and André to suggest a suitable man for the position, but finally rejecting all their proposals he himself selected Montluc.

Montmorency and Brissac openly questioned the wisdom of the king's choice. "Montluc," said Brissac, "can well preserve order in a camp. He is an excellent officer in the field, and knows how to make his men fight. But he is altogether too choleric, too violent, too impulsive, to rule well over a people like the Sienese." The king admitted that Brissac's estimate of Montluc was not unjust; but for once he stoutly adhered to his own decision. At the same time he laughingly advised the fiery Gascon to leave some of his irascible temper behind him in Provence.

"Certes," says Montluc, with characteristic naïveté, "my good master had good reason for his persistency; for never has my choler led me to do anything preju-

dicial to his service. If my anger is violent and sudden, it lasts but a short time; and, experience has taught me that it is better to employ men of that kind. For there is nothing underhand about them, and at the same time, they are more courageous than those cold persons who wish on account of their natural frigidity to be thought wiser than others.”¹

Choleric, but magnanimous; irritable, but ready to forgive; brave as a lion, but wanting neither in caution nor discretion; fond of pretty women and of good wine, but possessing at the same time a keen sense of responsibility which prevented him from ever sacrificing duty to pleasure, Monsieur Blaise de Montluc was, at this period of his life, the type of a loyal French gentleman and soldier.² He soon won the hearts of the people over whom he was sent to rule. One of the chief reasons of his success was that he shared with the Sienese a childlike elasticity of temper and capacity for being amused, qualities which dull people are apt to regard as incompatible with seriousness of purpose.

Immediately on his arrival at Siena, Strozzi made the first of the two fatal mistakes which ruined his chances of victory. Rejecting the advice of many of his captains,³ he delayed attacking the enemy whilst they were still panic-stricken and in confusion. He hesitated to fight a pitched battle in the neighbour-

¹ Montluc, *Commentaires*, Bordeaux, 1592, ff. 79, 80.

² Under the baneful influence of religious bigotry, Montluc's character deteriorated somewhat in his later years. To the last he was a brave and brilliant general; but in the Civil Wars in France he was guilty of great cruelties, and, honourable gentleman as he was, he seems to have thought it was excusable to break faith with heretics.

³ Malavolti, *op. cit.*, 'Terza Parte, f. 163^t'; Pecci, *op. cit.*, Parte Quarta, p. 152.

hood of the city. Every day that he waited, his chances of success diminished. Reinforcements were on their way to Marignano, and his men were rapidly recovering their energy and self-confidence. The French soldiery, too, had to be fed. And the citizens' hearts sank, as they saw each morning a considerable portion of their slender stock of bread and wine pass out of the city to the French camp. The Signory, perceiving that Strozzi was unwilling to risk everything on a general engagement, begged him to withdraw his army from Siena.

Strozzi granted its request. On July 17, he set out for the Val di Chiana. Five days later, Marignano followed him. Both armies finally pitched their camps near Marciano, at but a short distance from each other.

Strozzi was much inferior in artillery, and the character of the country was such that his superiority in cavalry¹ did not avail him anything. Consequently, in the skirmishes that took place between portions of the two armies in the closing days of July, the Sienese and French were almost invariably defeated. He now made the second of the two fatal blunders, which ruined the cause of Siena. He saw that his wisdom was to retire to some better position. He decided to retreat to Lucignano,² three miles away. But blinded by pride and by false views of military honour, he refused to retreat by night. He announced his intention of withdrawing by day, in full view of the army.

Montluc heard of his mad resolve, and sent messengers in hot haste from Siena, imploring him to

¹ Sozzini, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

² Not to be confounded with Lucignano d'Arbia.

change his plans.¹ Bentivoglio and others of his captains also pleaded with him. For a moment Strozzi hesitated, but evil counsellors persuaded him to adhere to his original resolution. He persisted in treating this life-and-death struggle of a brave people as though it were some knightly tournament of pleasure.

On the morning of August 2, Strozzi broke up his camp and began his retreat to Lucignano. Marignano followed him, harassing his force continually in the rear and on the right flank. At last the Sienese commander determined to halt and face the enemy. He drew up his men on a slight elevation, called the Colle delle Donne. Cornelio Bentivoglio, who commanded the horse, rode up to his chief and magnanimously offered to sacrifice himself and his men to assure the retreat of the infantry. His offer was not accepted. "Who fears, let him fly," replied Strozzi. "I intend to fight."

The battle began with a charge of the imperialist horse. "Our men," said Montalvo, "looked like a moving mountain of steel. The French cavalry, too," he adds, "presented a beautiful sight, with their varied uniforms, their gilded weapons, their embroidered vests, and their innumerable waving plumes. Accompanied by many pages, well mounted, they looked as though they were going to a tournament."²

But the cavalry had scarcely joined battle, when the standard-bearer of the French, who had received a large bribe from Marignano, wheeled round and took to

¹ Montluc, *op. cit.*, ff. 83^t, 85^t, 86. The leaves in this, the first edition of Montluc's *Commentaires*, are not always rightly numbered. Leaves 86 and 87, for example, are numbered 83 and 84.

² Montalvo, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

flight.¹ His comrades, seized with panic, followed him. The day seemed already lost. Strozzi then made a gallant effort to avert defeat. Rallying the infantry, he led them on against the enemy. The Spanish foot knelt down for a moment to pray. Then they charged to the cry of "Viva Spagna! S. Jago!" Their attack was irresistible. The Sienese and the French were gradually driven back. For a time they fought bravely hand to hand with their conquering foes. Then they gave way. The battle became a rout. Piero Strozzi, seeing that the day was lost, took horse and rode to Lucignano. The carnage was terrible. At the end of a few hours, five thousand of Strozzi's army lay dead on the banks of the Chiana and on the road to Lucignano. Thousands more were wounded or prisoners. All his standards were in the enemy's hands. Some scattered bands of panic-stricken fugitives were all that remained of the brave army that had marched out of Siena two weeks before.

That evening a horseman was seen riding madly down the Arno valley towards Florence. As he galloped through the wondering villages in the twilight he cried, "Vittoria, Vittoria! Palle, Palle!" It was Captain Ernando Sante, the Duke's Chamberlain. On reaching the city he met the Duke in the street. He was riding homeward from some evening party. After kissing his master's hand, he delivered his message: "The great God has been pleased to give you the victory over Piero Strozzi, your capital enemy, who has taken to flight, and whose army is broken and destroyed."²

¹ Sozzini, *op. cit.*, pp. 270, 271.

² Montalvo, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

The Duke at once went to the Church of the Annunziata, and ordered the monks to chant a solemn *Te Deum*. The office over, he set out for the palace, accompanied by crowds of cheering citizens. The following day there was music and song in every street of the city. Cheering crowds assembled in front of the Palazzo Vecchio, and ever and anon was heard the roar of *feux-de-joie*. The prison doors were opened, and all malefactors were pardoned. Captain Ernando Sante was commissioned to bear the glad news to the Emperor and to Philip of Spain.

Very different was the scene in unhappy Siena. On the evening of August 2, bands of miserable fugitives, maimed, bleeding, panic-stricken, passed through the Porta Romana. The hospital was soon filled to overflowing with suffering men. The wards and corridors, the church itself, could not hold the wounded. Many poor wretches were forced to lie down under the open sky. The plangent groans and cries of the wounded sufferers were heard in every street and square. "Had a man possessed a heart of the hardest stone," says Sozzini, "it would have been impossible for him to have held back his tears at the sight of such carnage." The condition of the foreigners, the French and the Germans, was peculiarly heartrending. "I myself," adds Sozzini, "saw more than a hundred men lean against a wall and weep for pity of these poor soldiers."¹

Nor did the sympathy of the Sienese for the foreigners end in futile commiseration. For the moment forgetting their own troubles, they sought to succour the stricken strangers within their gates. Many noble-hearted men and women bore into the streets some

¹ Sozzini, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

portion of their own scanty stock of bread and wine and gave it to the French and German wounded.

The Sienese, like their victors, had their religious processions. Three days after the battle, on the anniversary of the expulsion of the Spaniards, the Signory went in solemn procession to the Duomo. Before them walked three hundred maidens, two by two, dressed in white, and all barefooted and bareheaded. And as they went, these young girls, pale with privations, sang litanies, crying with passionate earnestness, "O Christe, audi nos!"¹

But the petitions of the Sienese were offered in vain. Day by day their position became more desperate. The wealthier citizens urged that negotiations for peace should at once be offered. The popular party wished to see the struggle fought out to the bitter end. The will of the people prevailed. Roused by an eloquent harangue of Montluc, the Signory declared that they would rather eat their own children than yield to Cosimo.²

With the object of enabling the city to hold out longer, the Government ordered that all "useless mouths" were to be expelled from the city; and a magistracy of four citizens was formed to put into execution this cruel decree. At once whole families of peasant refugees were compelled to quit Siena. Some weeks later, yet harsher measures were adopted for reducing the daily consumption of food. One autumn afternoon two hundred and fifty children, all under ten years of age, helpless inmates of the hospital of S. Maria della Scala, were sent out of the town, accom-

¹ Sozzini, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

² Montluc, *op. cit.*, ff. 88, 89.

panied by some women and a guard of soldiers. A mile from the Fontebranda Gate they fell into an ambushade of Spaniards. Then followed a scene of indescribable horror. The enemy burst upon them, and slew many of the women and infants. After night-fall the survivors, wailing pitifully, strove to find their way back to the city. The next morning those who resided near the Porta Fontebranda were roused from slumber by piteous cries and the moaning of children in pain. On looking out they saw lying on the frosty ground outside the gate the miserable victims of Sienese patriotism and Spanish cruelty. "To have beheld them," says Sozzini, "would have moved a Nero to weep. I would have paid twenty-five scudi not to have seen them. For three days afterwards I could neither eat nor drink."¹

Nor did the Sienese spoil the hospital of its inmates only. They permitted the French officials to seize all the grain in the hospital. In vain did its Rector protest strongly against the measure. The majority of the citizens were determined to preserve the liberty of Siena at all costs. But there were many pious folk who shook their heads, and prophesied that no good would come of such measures. "If you rob our Lady's hospital," they said, "and take away her children's bread to give it to strangers; if, instead of feeding Her lambs, you drive them out of the city to be a prey to the enemy, is it likely that she will intercede with her Son on your behalf?"²

But in justice to the rulers of Siena, it must be admitted that they were as willing to sacrifice them-

¹ Sozzini, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

² Sozzini, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

selves and those who were nearest to them, for the cause of freedom, as they were to exact sacrifices from others. Women of gentle birth, the leaders of Sienese society, worked at the defences, side by side with artisans and common soldiers. "Ladies of Siena," exclaimed the gallant Montluc, "you are worthy of immortal praise if ever women were." "All the Sienese ladies," he tells us, "divided themselves into three companies. The first was led by the Signora Forteguerra,¹ who wore a violet uniform, as did those who followed her. . . . The leader of the second was the Signora Piccolomini, dressed in red satin, and her followers had a similar livery. At the head of the third was the Signora Livia Fausta, robed entirely in white, as also were her followers; and her standard also was white. All the standards bore beautiful devices. I would have given a good deal to have remembered them." These three squadrons were composed of three thousand ladies of the upper and middle classes. They bore pikes and spades, panniers and hurdles. As they went to their work on the fortifications, these brave women sang a song composed for them by one of that numerous choir of poetesses, who sang the swan song of their own country.²

Montluc, whose admiration for the women of Siena was unbounded, tells the story of an act of heroism on the part of a young Sienese girl of humble origin. "I had made an ordinance," he said, "at the time that I was created dictator, that no man, on pain of being

¹ It is to this lady, I think, that Hoby refers in his Diary. "Most of the women of Siena," he says, in a passage I have already quoted, "are well learned and write excellentlie well in prose and verse : among whom Laodomia Forteguerra and Virginia Salvi did excell for good wittes." (M.S. *cit.*, fol. 24).

² Montluc, *op. cit.*, f. 97.

punished, should fail to go on guard in his turn. This young girl, seeing that her brother, whose turn it was to be on guard, was unable to go, took his morion and placed it on her head; and donning his hose and his cloak, and with his halberd on her shoulder, she went to join the guard. Answering to her brother's name when they called the roll, she took her turn as sentinel. Nor was she discovered until the morning."¹

As autumn passed into winter, famine and disease, Cosimo's best allies, claimed more and more victims in Siena. Montluc, although but partially recovered from an almost fatal illness that had attacked him immediately after his arrival in Siena, did his best to conceal his weakness; and by his genial, hopeful, courageous bearing he sought to prevent the citizens from losing heart. He held, with all wise men, that to be possessed with a steadfast conviction that success is possible, is one of the first steps towards winning it.

Marignano, amongst other courtesies, permitted a mule, bearing a load of Greek wine—a present from Cardinal d'Armagnac to Montluc—to enter the city. Half the wine, the generous soldier gave for the use of women who were with child. Some flasks of it he presented to Strozzi. And that portion of it which he reserved for himself was none the less used, as we shall see, for the benefit of others. Montluc did not cease to do his best to make the citizens forget their miserable condition. In the morning he was accustomed to dress himself as though for a *festà*. He would put on his crimson velvet hose, made for him, he tells us, when he was a lover at Albi,

¹ Montluc, *op. cit.*, f. 97,

his silk shirt, his doublet and cloak, and a bonnet of grey silk, trimmed with gold thread, and bearing an aigrette of silvered plumes. "Being dressed, I would take," he says, "some of the Greek wine sent me by the Cardinal, and would rub my hands with it. Then I would rub my face with wine, until I became ruddy, and also drink a drop of it, eating therewith a small portion of bread. After that I would look at myself in the mirror. I swear to you that I did not know myself. It seemed to me that I was once more a lover in Piedmont. I could not refrain from laughing. For it was as though, in a moment, God had given me quite another face."¹

His toilet finished, M. Montluc, taking his arms, would go out into the streets, greeting cheerily the citizens as he passed along, and encouraging them to persist in the struggle. "Messieurs, mes compagnons," he says in his charming *Commentaires*, "should one of you find himself in a similar plight to mine, let him take his best uniform, dress himself with care, wash his face with Greek wine until it is red, and then walk about the town encouraging both soldiers and citizens, . . . never entertaining any other idea but that soon, with the help of God, and by his own strong right hand, he will, in despite of all their efforts, slay his enemies and not be slain by them. In this way you will hearten the soldiers as well as the citizens. But if you appear in public with a pale face, speaking to no one, sad, melancholy, pensive, then, when both citizens and soldiers ought to have hearts of lions, you will make them have hearts of sheep."²

¹ Montluc, *op. cit.*, f. 97.

² Montluc, *op. cit.*, f. 95.

But the courage and wisdom of Montluc, and the patience and endurance of the citizens, were of little avail. Day by day the blockade became more severe. Marignano was determined to starve the Sienese into submission, and the allies of the Republic were unable to prevent him from carrying out his purpose. He pursued his policy with ruthless thoroughness, Charles and Cosimo giving him every assistance. Every peasant caught attempting to take provisions into Siena was hanged on the trees outside the city. Every male inhabitant found outside the gates, was at once put to death.¹ The starved citizens, looking out from the ramparts of the city, saw rotting bodies dangling from every bough. "The trees," wails the Sienese diarist, "bear more corpses than leaves." On Tressa's banks there was a wood whose branches were bowed down with the heavy fruitage of royal vengeance. It was the orchard of the Emperor!

Day by day the city's scanty supplies of provisions dwindled. Everything that could be eaten was used as food—cats, mice, rats, the weeds on the ramparts, the very offal in the streets. Week by week more "useless mouths" were driven out to find death in the bare, deserted country, or at the hands of the Spaniards. But their expulsion did not sensibly diminish the severity of the famine within the city. Members of some of the noblest families of the Sienese *contado*, their castles burned, their vines cut down, their crops destroyed, went about the city begging a crust

² See Marignano's proclamation of October 4, 1554 (Arch. di Stato—Florence, *Mediceo Carteggio Universale*—*Carteggio del Duca Cosimo* 1, Filza 427—Ottobre, Novembre, Dicembre, 1554). This proclamation has been printed by F. Bandini Piccolomini in the *Misc. Stor. Sen.*, anno November 1894, pp. 166-169.

"for the love of God." Everywhere were seen pale, wan faces and wasted forms. Everywhere could be heard the pitiful wailing of children crying for bread.

And yet sometimes the sons and daughters of Siena—with that inextinguishable mobility of temper, which was the chief characteristic of all of them, young and old—succeeded in forgetting their misery. And again "the streets of the city were full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof."

On January 13, the youths of Siena met in the Great Piazza to play at *pallone*. There was a great concourse. For two hours the citizens forgot their wretchedness, as the great ball soared to and fro between the contending parties. Prominent amongst the players was a young Spanish gentleman with a red sash, whom Bernino, the brave pork-butcher, had taken prisoner three days before. The Spaniard, who was well made and very swift of foot, was the hero of the afternoon. Loud were the *errivas* from window and from balcony as the comely foreigner scored point after point.¹

After *pallone* followed a game of *pugna*—a mimic battle fought with fists—a bloody game, about as good a discipline of courage as war itself, and a better discipline for the temper. Monsieur Montluc could not withhold his tears as he watched the sports, so affected was he by the pathetic courage of this strange people, who, with a cruel death threatening them on all sides, could thus triumph over fear and sorrow.

But the Sienese did not forget in their games, their responsibilities as citizens. Like their commander,

¹ Sozzini, *op. cit.*, pp. 353, 354.

much as they loved pleasure, they only gave to dalliance with her such portion of their time as duty did not claim. When the game of *pugna* was over, the cry was at once raised, "Alle guardie! Alle guardie!" And every man taking up his arms, went at once to his appointed place.

The supplies of the Sienese were now almost exhausted. They had now lost all hope of succour. For months past Piero Strozzi had kept on sending to them reports of approaching reinforcements. Over and over again he despatched messengers to tell them that an army from France was on its way. But the promised relieving force never came. At first many of the citizens were disposed to believe the Florentine's assertions. But as month after month passed they grew more and more sceptical. They realised that to him, they, their wives, and their little ones, were but as pawns in the ambitious game that he was playing; and that he would willingly sacrifice every one of them, if by doing so, he could ultimately give checkmate to Cosimo.

And so in February, with the consent of its ally, Henry II, the Government opened negotiations with the Duke. The one aim of the Sienese was to preserve their autonomy. They were ready to give up anything but that. But Cosimo was obdurate. He coldly directed the citizens to treat with Charles; and Charles, they knew, would be satisfied with nothing less than the entire surrender of their liberties.

Gloom settled down more deeply than ever upon Siena. Before receiving Cosimo's answer, the citizens had firmly believed that their sufferings were at last to cease. On receiving news of the failure of negotiations,

many died of disappointment, want, and exposure. From the houses of the poor were heard continually the groans of dying men. In the churches there were black masses every day. In the streets, funeral processions never ceased to pass to and fro.

But cruel as the siege was, it was not without its amenities. Even the stark Spaniards seem at last to have been touched with pity for the Sieneſe. When on the festival of San Felice, another wretched band of four hundred women and children, *bocche disutili*, was thrust weeping from the gates of the city, some of the enemy took them to the convent of the Osservanza, and fed them with a little bread. And on the same day, it being carnival time, Marignano sent Montluc a roe, four hares, four pairs of fowls, and other good things with which to make carnival.

In their affliction the Sieneſe determined to present a last solemn, united appeal to their Mother, Siena's Divine Protectress. They decided to make a solemn offering of their city to the Madonna. On the Vigil of the Feast of the Annunciation, the Signory, and all the high officials of the Republic, followed by a great multitude of people, went in procession to the Duomo. There, for the last time, the keys of the city were presented to the Blessed Virgin. But their Advocate would not heed the petitions of the Sieneſe. Men said she turned away her face because the Signory had robbed her hospital, and had delivered her infants and young girls into the hands of the enemy.

The famine in the city became severer every day. "At the beginning of March," says Montluc, "there was not a drop of wine in all the town; and we

had eaten all the horses, asses, mules, cats, and rats.”¹ Even for the sick and wounded there was nothing to eat but a morsel of black bread. There was no nourishing meat, no medicine, no ointments. It was soon seen, too, that the pity of the Spaniards was short-lived. For when, at the end of March, another great band of “useless mouths” was sent away from the city, they were seized by the Imperialists, and sent back without their ears and noses, with the message that any similar fugitives would be hanged as soon as taken.²

At last even the bravest of the citizens began to lose heart. Every day the cries for peace swelled in volume. Men who, for long months, had been unwavering in their determination to hold out to the last, faltered when they saw their own children pale, and emaciated, dying slowly of hunger, and finally they went out to join the clamouring crowd in the Great Piazza. Strozzi sent wild and wilder stories of huge relieving armies on the march. Ten thousand troops, he said, were at Pienza. A French fleet had arrived at Portoferraio. The Sienese smiled bitterly and incredulously, when these messages reached them. They would believe him, they said, when they saw the troops. For a month, not a loaf of bread had entered the city. Their prayers to the Virgin, their appeals to their allies, had alike brought no succour. Even liberty, they thought, could be bought too dear.

At last, on April 17, conditions of peace were arranged between the Sienese ambassadors and the representatives of Charles V. It was stipulated that

¹ Montluc, *op. cit.*, f. 105.

² Sozzini, *op. cit.*, p. 391, 392.

Siena was to place itself under the protection of the Emperor who regranted to the Republic its liberty. The Emperor, however, was to have full power, "saving its liberty," to change the government of the city and republic, and to garrison the town with such troops as he chose to send there. But, at the same time, Charles promised not to restore or to make any castle in the town without the consent of the Republic. He also agreed that every citizen should have full absolution for all past offences against his authority, perfect liberty of movement, and undisturbed possession of his property. The French army was to be allowed to march out with the honours of war.¹

On April 21, the French passed out of the Porta Romana. There went with them a great company of citizens who loved liberty even more than they loved their city. "Ubi cives," they said, "ibi patria." They determined to make Montalcino the home of the Sienese Republic. Amongst these martyrs of freedom were members of some of the noblest families—Bandini and Spannocchi, Piccolomini and Tolomei. The exiles took with them their wives and their children, and what they could carry of their household stuff. Weak and emaciated with famine, some of them fell down to die by the wayside. Montluc, soldier as he was, could not help being deeply affected as he saw them with set, pale faces toiling along after his troopers down the dusty Roman road, the father holding the daughter's hand, the mother carrying her baby, going forth into a dreary wilderness because they would not submit to the hated Spanish rule. "Never in my life," says he, "have I seen a parting so piteous. . . . At

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena. *Calefetto*, c. 411^t, 413; April 17, 1555.

the sight of their misery I could not keep back my tears, so great was my sorrow for a people which had shown itself willing to give up so much to save its liberty.”¹ Marching very slowly, and suffering terribly from want of food, the French, and the exiles who accompanied them, at last reached Montalcino.

Marignano met Montluc on April 21, at a short distance from the Porta Romana.² The two commanders exchanged courtesies and conversed pleasantly together about the siege. At the close of the interview, Marignano entered Siena, riding at once to the Duomo to offer thanks to God for the capture of the city. The bells of the churches were rung. The French standards were hauled down. Joyful salutes were fired in the Great Piazza. The city rang with the shouts of cheering soldiers.

It was a desolate city that the Spaniards took possession of. In two years its population had been reduced from 40,000 to 8000 souls. But famine and bereavement could not change the nature of these Sienese. Their chronic light-heartedness and mobility, their ineradicable hospitableness survived all shocks. They could not help giving a welcome to the brave Marignano. Even for him was the city's greeting, inscribed over one of her gates—*Cor magis tibi Sena pandit*. The women hung out their brocades from their windows, and smiled down upon the handsome Spanish

¹ Montluc, *op. cit.* f. 107t.

² Napier says that the two commanders met at Buonconvento. This is a mistake. Montluc himself says that he met Marignano three hundred paces from the city gate. See Montluc, *ed. cit.*, p. 108. Napier's account of the siege of Siena, though not without merit, contains many errors. He was not sufficiently acquainted with the original authorities, and Montluc he only knew in an inferior Italian translation. Montalvo's *Relazione* he had not seen. He seems to have relied mainly upon Galluzzi, a second-hand authority.

cavaliers as they rode by, even as they had welcomed Charles himself twenty years before. The youths fraternised with the imperial soldiers. Provisions at once became plentiful. The taverns were full day and night. Marignano, acting with his usual firmness, permitted no looting or outrage. The change of government was effected without disorder.¹

Henry II took much to heart the fall of the city. He had hoped to make the territory of the Republic a *point d'appui* for his operations in central and southern Italy. Siena was to be a halting-place on the road to Naples. His vexation was increased as he saw the forts of the Maremma fall one by one into Marignano's hands. Acting upon the advice of the Duke of Guise, he determined to make one more effort to maintain his foothold in Tuscany. Allying with Paul IV and the Turk, he planned an attack upon the Spanish dominions in Italy. This effort proved an ignominious fiasco. Guise's attack on Naples failed miserably. In central Italy, only Montalcino, Grosseto, Chiusi, Radicofani, and a few smaller places remained in French possession.

In the meantime, Cosimo was quietly plotting to get Siena into his own hands. The renewed activity of the French in the year 1557 gave him the opportunity he longed for. Philip was fully occupied with the war which was being waged in Picardy and in southern Italy. He could not afford to lose any of his allies. Cosimo realised this, and peremptorily demanded payment of a sum of 2,000,000 ducats due to him from Spain. He asserted that he was short of money, and that he had received very handsome proposals from

¹ Montalvo, *op cit.*, p. 149.

Philip's opponents, which, he hinted, he might be forced to accept if the amount owed to him were not immediately repaid. Philip was very annoyed at Cosimo's action, but there was no course open to him but to satisfy the demands of the Duke. He agreed, therefore, to hand over the state and city of Siena to the Medici, as payment of all debts due from Spain to Florence.¹ On July 15, 1557, Cosimo's representative took possession of the city. Thus closed the history of Siena as a separate state.

"The Republic of Siena at Montalcino" only preserved its shadowy existence for two more years, and during that time the French commander was in reality supreme. At last, in 1559, after the Treaty of Chateau Cambr sis, the Montalcinese also surrendered to the Duke, who now became ruler of almost all Tuscany except the little principality of Lucca. Ten years later, Cosimo was created Grand-duke of Tuscany by a Bull of Pius. V; and in February 1570 Cosimo was solemnly crowned by the Pontiff himself.

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena. *Capitoli*, Num d'ord, 265; July 3, 1557,

CHAPTER XVI

THE ARCHITECTURE OF SIENA

I.—*Ecclesiastical Architecture*

OF the art of Siena in the days of Roman rule, as of her art in the early Middle Ages, no important relics have come down to us. A small collection of Etruscan remains, a few pieces of Roman masonry, a stray example of Byzantine sculptured ornament, some early Romanesque arches—these are all that we possess. And amongst these relics we find nothing possessing a peculiar local quality, nothing that reveals the existence of a native school of art. If they were not fashioned by foreign artists, they are the work of their pupils and imitators. There is evidence to show that an architectural movement had manifested itself in the city in the latter half of the twelfth century, but the unbroken, authentic history of Siennese art does not begin until the thirteenth. As elsewhere, it was in architecture that the emotions of the people first found artistic expression. As elsewhere, the first emotions to find important expression in that medium were religious emotions. The art history of Siena really begins with the Cathedral. But in building their Duomo, the Siennese were not inspired solely, or even chiefly, by religious fervour. Above all else the new Cathedral was a manifestation

of the civic spirit that inspired, in that age, the inhabitants of northern and central Italy.

From very early days some edifice devoted to the purpose of religious worship had occupied this site. There is an early tradition that before the introduction of Christianity, a temple dedicated to Minerva had stood here. According to Pecci, it was in the eighth or ninth century that the first central place of worship of the Christian community was erected in this position, to take the place of an earlier cathedral which stood in Castelveccchio. It is said, too, that in the twelfth century a Sienese pope, Alexander III, dedicated the second Christian cathedral built on this little plateau. The existing church dates from the second quarter of the thirteenth century. At that time, owing, as we have seen, to the development of a foreign trade, the citizens were growing in wealth, and were beginning to be stimulated by the new ideas and aspirations that inevitably take hold upon the minds and imaginations of a people engaging in extensive, adventurous, commercial enterprise. The ambitious young Commune wished to have a national temple that would be a symbol of the wealth and power of the State as well as a concrete expression of a people's gratitude to its Divine Protectress. The Sienese were anxious that their Duomo should equal in magnificence the cathedrals of rival cities. The new church was to be dedicated to the Virgin, and was especially to commemorate her Assumption. The Feast of the Assumption has ever been the greatest of Sienese festivals.

It is not known when the building of the new Cathedral was begun. Malavolti says that it was in the year 1245. Such documentary evidence as we possess

gives some scanty support to the historian's statement; for the first existing account that we have of money spent upon the new Duomo is of the year 1246.¹

And as we have no certain knowledge of the date when the new edifice was begun, so we do not know who was its first architect. We have no record of the name of any *operaio* who held office before the year 1257; by which time the original Cathedral was well advanced towards completion. The first Master of the Works whose name has come down to us was a certain Fra Vernaccio,² a monk from the then recently founded Cistercian abbey of San Galgano in the valley of the Merse. After holding the position for only two years, he was succeeded by Fra Melano, another Cistercian from the same convent, who occupied the post of *operaio* for well-nigh two decades. Of the Cathedral in its original form, the nave and aisles, the purely structural part of the dome, and a portion of each of the transepts, were completed before Fra Melano took office. He was commissioned to add a bay to each of the transepts and to make other less important alterations in the church. He was also called upon to remedy the defects of his predecessors, who, in making the dome of the Cathedral, had shown a thoroughly Italian lack of constructive skill, for in the unsymmetrical, ill-placed lantern large fissures had already begun to appear.³ Uncurbed by the Doric restraint required of Cistercian architects in the erection of the churches of their own Order, at first Fra Vernaccio, and afterwards his suc-

¹ Borghesi and Banchi, *Nuovi Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte Sienese*, Siena, Torrini, 1898, p. 5.

² Canestrelli, *L'Abbazia di S. Galgano*, Florence, Alinari, 1896, pp. 20 and 128.

³ Milanesi, *Documenti*, etc., vol i., pp. 144, 145.

cessor, began to arrange for the proper furnishing of the new Duomo. The one provided it with choir stalls; the other, in 1266, summoned Niccola Pisano to Siena to make for it a glorious pulpit. In the following year the Cathedral was completed, except as regards its façade. The nave of this church was shorter by two bays than the existing Duomo. The present choir, also, with the baptistery of San Giovanni which supports it, was not yet built.

There is no documentary evidence as to who was the architect of the Cathedral or as to his *provenance*. There were three great schools of architecture in central Italy at the beginning of the thirteenth century; and in the Duomo of Siena there are to be found, as we shall see, evidences of the influence of all of them. There was, first of all, the Lombard Romanesque. This style contained, as Reynaud, Canestrelli¹ and Nardini-Despotti² have demonstrated, the elements of Gothic. In Lombard churches like that of Airona we find the square piers carrying engaged shafts on their faces, which prepared the way for the Gothic method of vaulting. We find rib-vaulting at S. Ambrogio at Milan. In such churches as S. Antonino at Piacenza we meet with oblong bays covered with pointed arches.

But though the Lombard architects pointed out the road which the French afterwards took, they were unable to pursue it themselves. The preparatory stages in the evolution of Gothic architecture led to nothing on Italian soil. Inferior to the Pisans as well as to the

¹ Canestrelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-87.

² Nardini-Despotti, *Del Duomo di Milano e della sua Facciata*, Milan Saldini, 1889, p. 103.

southern architects as decorators, the Lombards shared with other mediæval Italians their lack of skill as constructive designers. "The history of Lombard . . . building in Italy," says Cummings, "is a history of crumbling walls and falling vaults, and hundreds of the more important structures of that period are deformed by awkward buttresses of later date, and hundreds more are kept from falling into instant ruin only by the iron rods which tie them together in all directions."¹ It was in France that the Gothic style received its full and logical development; and the true Gothic came into Italy as a foreign importation. Moreover, the Italians never properly apprehended the lessons taught them by their Gallic teachers. They showed themselves incapable of grasping the more advanced principles of Gothic construction.

A greater, but by no means as widely influential a school of architecture, was the Tuscan-Romanesque, or Pisan school. The Pisan architects were superior to their Lombard contemporaries both as constructors and as decorators. Theirs was the greatest school of architecture that Italy has produced in modern times. Owing something to Byzantine influences and something to Lombard, many of its most characteristic features both of structure and ornament were due to direct classical inspiration, derived from the study of the early Christian basilicas. It had, however, some qualities of grace and charm that were all its own.

In the most typical churches of this school we see abundance of beautiful material judiciously employed.

¹ Cummings, *Architecture in Italy: A History of Italian Architecture from Constantine to the Renaissance*, Houghton, Mifflin, & Co., New York, 1901, vol. i. p. 110.

Made all glorious within by mosaic and fresco and marble inlay, their builders did not seek to produce an effect by surface ornament alone. In no other Italian churches do we find so much structural decoration. Both in the interior and the exterior they made a lavish use of beautiful arcades, of a multiplicity of graceful columns large and small. It was the Pisan architects, too, and not, as has been recently asserted,¹ the Cistercians of San Galgano, who had first sought to create a decorative effect by placing blocks or slabs of marble of different colours in alternate layers. In the Cathedral of Pisa, begun in 1063, we see bands of black and white marble in the arcades of the clerestory. In the south façade of the Church of S. Giovanni Fuorcivitas at Pistoia, erected a century later, this mode of decoration is used with less restraint. In this, as in some other churches, built by masters of the Pisan school, the excesses of the architects of Siena Cathedral are foreshadowed.

The third and latest of the great schools of architecture existing in Tuscany in the early years of the thirteenth century was the Burgundian-Gothic. This style was introduced into Italy by the Cistercians, in the closing years of the twelfth century. The most important of the early examples of this style now remaining are the abbey churches of Chiaravalle di Castagnola, Fossanova, and Casamari. In adopting the grouped piers instead of the single shaft used by the architects of the Île de France, the Cistercian builders followed, it is true, Lombard precedent. But, nevertheless, in construction as in design they were thoroughly French in spirit. They showed a complete grasp of the fundamental principles of Gothic architecture. We see in

¹ Cummings, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 150.

their artistic achievement a more thorough application of "the principle of concentrated strains and balanced thrusts," than is to be found in the great majority of Italian buildings. Their works are inspired by French architectural daring, and by a feeling for beauty of architectural form which is also essentially Gallic.

At Casamari we find a skeleton framework of ribs and piers and buttresses in which Gothic methods of construction are fully illustrated. As in France, the interstices of the skeleton framework of the building are filled up with light masonry and with large traceried windows. Both at Fossanova and Casamari the west front is no mere screen wall as it is in almost all mediæval Italian churches. It is in intimate relation with the plan of the whole church, and follows the outline of the nave and aisles.

The Gothic style was never thoroughly understood by the Italian architects, and was never fully developed in the peninsula. It was unsuited to the southern climate because of its large window spaces. Because of the great demands that it made upon the constructive skill of architects, it was not in harmony with the genius of Italian art. The mediæval Italians were decorators rather than constructors. Early in the fifteenth century they eagerly returned to those classical forms which were more suited to their climate and temperament than were the Gothic.

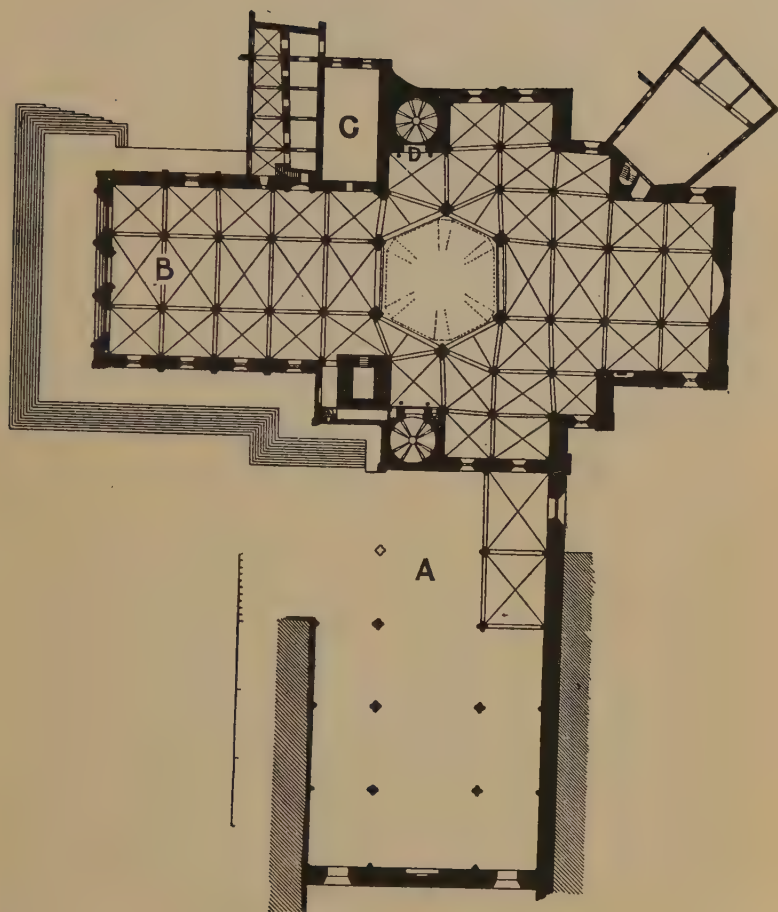
It was in or about the year 1224 that the Burgundian-Gothic style was first brought to the neighbourhood of Siena. Forty years before, monks from Casamari had founded a house on the slopes of Monte Siepi, in the valley of the Merse, thirteen miles from the city. Under episcopal, aristocratic and civic patronage, the

Cistercian settlement grew rapidly in wealth and influence. Early in the thirteenth century the new community had been augmented by the adhesion to it of several members of the most ancient families of Tuscany, Guidi and Visconti, Ardengeschi and Aldobrandeschi, as well as by the arrival of a body of monks from the mother convent of Clairvaux.

As the first quarter of the century was drawing to its close the Cistercians began to build a great abbey somewhat on the plan of the mother house of Casamari. This new monastery they dedicated to the local saint, San Galgano.

The church of San Galgano, of which a great part of the original structure still remains, is closely allied to the contemporary Cistercian churches of Burgundy. The influence of the French Gothic of the Île de France, too, is seen everywhere. It is as though a piece of old France had been transplanted to Italian soil.¹ The first impression upon the traveller who finds this Burgundian abbey in a Tuscan valley is one of incongruity, of unexpectedness. Even he who journeys to San Galgano with some knowledge of the building he is going to see,

¹ I find myself at variance here with the views ingeniously propounded by Signor Canestrelli in the second chapter of the second part of his admirable *L'Abbazia di San Galgano*. He exaggerates, I think, the direct influence of Lombard architecture upon the builders of the Cistercian abbeys in Italy, displaying, in my opinion, considerable patriotic bias. It is to be regretted that Italian art historians and art critics so often allow the sentiment of patriotism, civic or national, to warp their artistic judgment. This is the more to be deplored in the case of Signor Canestrelli, whose qualifications as a historian of architecture are of a very high order, and to whom all students of Italian architecture are deeply indebted. I cannot here discuss in detail the style of the Cistercian churches in Italy and the origin of that style. To do so would require a large volume. I can only recommend unbiassed students to study carefully Signor Canestrelli's own illustrations to his interesting book, as well as Mr Cumming's chapter (*op. cit.*, vol. ii., chapter vii., pp. 123-153) on the Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries of Italy.



PLAN OF THE CATHEDRAL AT SIENA.
 Reproduced by permission of the Royal Institute of British Architects.
[To face p. 272.]



THE CHURCH OF THE ABBEY OF S. GALGANO.

[*Alinari.*

[*To face p. 272.*

cannot entirely get rid of this feeling. The monastery affects the mind in the same manner as do the windows of Fairford and of Shiplake. For in construction as in design it is very far removed from the other Gothic churches of Tuscany.

Such, then, were the three great schools of architecture at work in central Italy at the time when the Sienese began their new Cathedral. We will now see how far that building reveals the influence of each of them. And first let us examine its constructive features. We find in the nave heavy square piers bearing an engaged column on each face. The column on the nave face of every pier is carried up through the capital. But instead of supporting the vaulting of the roof, as does a column similarly placed on the piers of the Cistercian churches, it merely helps to carry a wide cornice which divides the clerestory from the nave. Immediately beneath this cornice, and between the corbels which support it, are heads in high relief representing the Popes. In the spandrels, too, of the nave arcade are *tondi*, in each of which is a sculptured head. The four-part vaults of the roof are square in the aisles: in the nave they are oblong and pointed. In the clerestory are small pointed windows with traceried heads. The transept and the dome show great defects of construction. The lantern is built not on four piers but on six. The distances between the pillars are not equal. The form of the dome is that of an irregular hexagon. Above it becomes a dodecagon by means of squinches. It is not placed on the axis of the transept, nor does it cover the whole of the width of the nave and aisles. The northernmost of the supporting piers is not in a line with the north wall of the

church, nor is the southernmost pier in a line with the south wall.

In all this, if we except the pointed, traceried windows of the clerestory, there is nothing—as Mr Cummings justly observes—of a purely Gothic character, there is nothing that is not to be found in other purely Italian churches of an earlier date. Square piers carrying engaged shafts on their faces and supporting four-part, ribbed vaults, in the aisles are to be found, as we have seen, at S. Ambrogio and in other early Lombard churches. In the Cathedral of Parma, built towards the close of the twelfth century, there are oblong bays in the nave spanned by four-part, ribbed vaults. We find pointed arches in the nave of a yet earlier church, S. Antonino, at Piacenza. In the Lombard Cathedral of Piacenza the lantern is not on the axis of the transepts, nor does it cover the whole width of the nave and aisles.¹

In the decoration of the church we find strong evidences of Pisan influence. Like the central Romanesque churches the Cathedral of Siena is enriched with mosaic, fresco and marble inlay. The interior of the lantern, too, is adorned with arcading. The alternate bands of black and white marble which are so conspicuous a feature of the interior were first employed in Tuscany, as we have seen, by artists of the Pisan school. The more restrained and educated taste of the Cistercian *operai* led subsequently to a modification of this system of decoration in the piers of the choir and transept, where the stripes of black and white marble were placed at wider

¹ Cummings (*op cit.*, vol. i., p. 118) says that the dome of the Cathedral of Piacenza is perhaps the only dome that occupies only a part of the depth of the transept and is not centred on the axis of the transept. This, of course, is a mistake.



INTERIOR OF THE CATHEDRAL OF SIENA.

[Alinari.]

[To face p. 274.]

intervals, occupying only one-fifth of the surface of the pier. Curiously enough, but little trace of the direct influence of Byzantine art is to be found in this cathedral of the city of Duccio.

The exterior of the present Duomo is more Gothic in appearance than the interior, but this is mainly due to the effect produced by later additions to the church, and especially by the choir and the façade, both of which are of a much later date than the original church.

This too brief examination of the structure and ornament of the old Cathedral suffices to show that those recent writers have erred who, following Enlart, have asserted or implied that the church of San Galgano was the model of the Duomo of Siena, and that the first architect of the Duomo was a monk of the Cistercian abbey. Its architect had none of the peculiar gifts of the French builders. He displayed that lack of constructive ability which is so marked a characteristic of the Italian architects of the Middle Ages. At the same time he showed an Italian's love for rich interior decoration. Judging from considerations of style, it seems to me to be probable that the original architect of the Cathedral of Siena was some North Italian artist who had been brought under Pisan influences, and who borrowed some Gothic forms from the neighbouring monastery of San Galgano, without thoroughly apprehending the principles of Gothic construction.

For half a century after 1267 no important architectural work now existing was undertaken in connection with the Duomo. Giovanni Pisano held the office of *Capomaestro* from 1284 to 1298, but no trace of his labour remains. But in the second decade of the fourteenth century a new epoch of architectural

activity began. The Sienese had come to think that their cathedral was unworthy of so proud and wealthy a city as Siena. The rulers of the neighbouring towns of Florence and Orvieto had already set to work to build churches of larger dimensions than the Sienese Duomo. The inhabitants of the Virgin's City did not wish to be outshone by their rivals. At first they merely proposed to make additions to the existing building. They determined to build a new baptistery and to enlarge the Cathedral by adding to it a large choir. The old baptistery of Siena had stood to the right of the façade of the Duomo. In or about the year 1315, the present church of S. Giovanni was begun to the east of the Cathedral and at a lower level. About the same time a choir was commenced above the new church, the roof of the latter serving as floor to the former.

In the year 1316, at a time when Camaino da Crescentino was chief architect of the Duomo,¹ the foundations of the façade of this building were already laid. Like the old baptistery, the new San Giovanni was considered to be an integral part of the Cathedral.²

The new work had not advanced very far³ towards completion before it was pronounced to be unsafe by a committee of experts, at the head of which was Lorenzo del Maitano, chief architect of the Duomo of Orvieto, and one of the greatest artists that Siena ever

¹ Dr Lusini errs in saying that Tino di Camaino, the great sculptor, was chief architect at this time. That post was held by his father until 1319, when Tino took the office for a few months. See Lusini's *Il San Giovanni di Siena e i Suoi Restauri*, Florence, Alinari, 1901, p. 22, n. 2.

² *Frammento di una cronachetta senese* (Bibl. Com., Cod. C. VI, 12), edited by Lusini and Mengozzi (Siena, Sordomuti, 1893), p. 23.

³ Mrs Richter is mistaken in thinking that the Choir was finished under Camaino. See Richter, *Siena*, Berlin, Seeman, 1901, p. 37.

produced.¹ The architects consulted advised the citizens to erect a new church "beautiful, large and magnificent, well proportioned in length, and height, and breadth, and in all its parts." This project was not at first adopted. The party in the government who favoured the alternative plan of adding to the original church, maintained their majority for a period of seventeen years, and, in spite of the defects of construction pointed out by Maitano and his associates, they succeeded in carrying on the work that they had begun.² At last, on August 23, 1339, the citizens finally decided to erect a vast new Cathedral, of which the nave and choir of the old Duomo were to form the transepts. Lando di Pietro, a distinguished Siennese architect, originally a goldsmith by trade, who had made the imperial crown for Dante's hero, Henry VII, was summoned from Naples, where he was in the service of Robert of Anjou, to act as chief architect of the new Cathedral of his native city. The first stone of the immense new nave which was to be erected to the south of the old Duomo was solemnly laid in the month of February, 1340.

As time went on, the plan of the Cathedral underwent considerable modifications. When the work was begun it was thought that the greater part of the old church might be incorporated in the new, and that it would only be necessary to alter or to rebuild the lantern, and to pull down the campanile of the earlier Duomo. Ultimately, however, the *operai* found that their plan was impracticable. They determined to destroy all of the thirteenth-century church and to build an entirely

¹ This was in 1322. See Milanesi, *Documenti* etc., vol. i., No. 34, pp. 186, 187.

² Milanesi, *Documenti*, etc., vol. iii., p. 275.

new edifice. But in the meantime the old Cathedral was left standing, and all the efforts of the Board of Works were concentrated upon the erection of the new nave. At first the work of building proceeded rapidly. Even the great plague of 1348, which swept away by far the greater part of the citizens, did not put an end to it. But the ravages of the merchant companies, and the increasing frequency of faction-fights, impoverished the Sienese, and absorbed the energies which ought to have been devoted to projects of public utility. The work of the new Cathedral languished, in part because there was less wealth in the city than there had been twenty years before, in part because public spirit was becoming enfeebled in Siena. The *operai* were further discouraged when they found that half of the new building was giving way. The piers were too light to support the weight of the vaults; and the Florentine architects whom the Sienese authorities consulted in their difficulty, counselled them to take down the unsafe portion of the work and to reconstruct it. The architect-in-chief of the Duomo, Domenico d'Agostino, and his assistant, Niccolò di Cecco, further advised that the old Cathedral should be allowed to stand, and that the new choir above San Giovanni should be finished.¹ The new Duomo, they asserted, would take one hundred years to complete. This work, they said, could be accomplished in five.² At the same time they did not encourage the abandonment of the hope that the new Cathedral might be completed. They urged the citizens to continue it "to the honour of God,

¹ Milanesi, *Documenti*, vol. i., No. 57, p. 252.

² Neri di Donato, *Cronica*, in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, tom. xv., c. 218. He states that the Choir was finished in August 1370.



DOORWAY OF THE GREAT NAVE BEGUN IN 1340, BUT NOT COMPLETED.

[*Alinari.*

[*To face p. 278.*

and of His Blessed Mother the Virgin Mary, and of the Blessed St John the Baptist.”

But the magnificent project of the Sienese was doomed. The days of Siena's greatest wealth and glory were over. In June 1357, the Twelve decided that the unsafe portions of the new building should be pulled down. After that, there was no more talk of completing the immense Cathedral of Lando di Pietro. The Sienese contented themselves with enlarging and beautifying the old Duomo.

In accordance with the proposal of Domenico d'Agostino and Niccolò di Cecco they completed the choir above San Giovanni. In the year 1370, this portion of the work was finished.¹ In the same year, they set about clearing the ground in front of the old façade by removing the loggia of the Bishop's palace which had been built in close proximity to it.² At first they do not seem to have had any other object than to increase the size of the piazza before the west front, so that they might have a larger space for displaying the relics of the Cathedral.³ But in the course of the next three years they adopted a much more ambitious project. They decided to enlarge⁴ the

¹ Neri di Donato, *Cronica*, ed. cit., c. 220. See also Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Libro dei Regolatori*, 1367-1377, fol. 200^b and seq.—The Cav. A. Lisini discovered this entry. It was subsequently quoted, but not quite accurately, in Mrs Richter's *Siena*. It is strange that those who have written about the façade of the Cathedral of Siena treat this entry in this *Libro dei Regolatori* as an entirely new discovery, and are not aware that all the important information contained in this and other documents is to be found in a chronicle already printed, in the chronicle of Neri di Donato.

² In Appendix I. are to be found all the extracts from Neri di Donato which throw light on the history of the façade, a correct copy of the entry in the *Libro dei Regolatori* of 1367-1377, and copies of three other documents relating to the façade.

³ Neri di Donato, *Cronica*, ed. cit., c. 220.

⁴ Neri di Donato, *Cronica ed. cit.*, c. 241.

nave of the Duomo by the addition of two bays, and to build a new façade "on the spot opposite the Hospital where once was the loggia of the Bishop."¹ That the Duomo was enlarged in the years 1374-1377 is not open to doubt. Neri di Donato distinctly states it: the two westernmost bays of the Duomo differ in several important particulars from the rest of the nave: moreover, there is to be seen in the archives of Siena, upon one of the covers of the books relating to the management of the Hospital, a rude representation of the original Duomo in which the church is depicted not only with a different façade to that at present existing, but also with a much shorter nave.

In the year 1377, the two new bays of the nave were completed, and Bartolommeo di Tommè, Giacomo di Buonfredi, and other sculptors were at work upon the statues and the sculptured ornament of the façade. Three years later, the work must have been wellnigh completed, for we find that in 1380 St Catherine's friend, Andrea Vanni, the artist, was paid a small sum for "colouring the face and hands of Our Lady, and of her Son," and of the other figures that were on the façade of the Duomo opposite the Hospital, on the occasion of the Feast of the Assumption.

The architects of the west front of the Duomo of Siena took as their model the masterpiece of one of the greatest of Sienese artists, Lorenzo del Maitano's beauti-

¹ Nardini-Despotti in his *Il Sistema Tricuspidale e la Facciata del Duomo di Firenze* (Leghorn, 1871, pp. 134-138) was the first to disprove the theory that Giovanni Pisano was the architect of the façade of the Duomo of Siena, as the Cav. A. Lisini was the first to demonstrate conclusively that the present façade was built after the year 1370. Cummings (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 180) merely repeats the traditional view, that the façade "was the work of Giovanni Pisano."



FAÇADE OF THE CATHEDRAL.

[*Alinari.*

[*To face p. 280*

ful façade at Orvieto. Their work was very inferior to their original, both in construction and decoration.¹

The chief but by no means the only cause of the inferiority of the façade of Siena is that it is not so intimately related to the structure of which it forms a part as is the façade of the Cathedral of Orvieto. At Siena, for instance, the ornamental framework of the three doorways is of equal breadth and height; whilst at Orvieto the central door is larger and nobler than the two others, emphasising the importance of the nave over the aisles. At Siena, too, there is little harmony between the upper and lower stages of the front. At Orvieto the whole design is in better proportion and better spaced.

There is a great difference, too, in the decoration of the two façades. At Siena there is an excess of sculptured ornament; and this excess makes appear the more incongruous the bareness of the central rose-window, which, unlike that of Orvieto, is without tracery. At Orvieto sculpture was much more sparingly used. There is a difference, too, in the character of the sculpture. When Lorenzo del Maitano designed the façade of Orvieto, the influence of the Pisan school was still strong in Siena as elsewhere. Maitano himself belonged to the school of Giovanni Pisano. At Orvieto, therefore, we find that the sculptured ornament, as in the Pisan churches, mainly consists of reliefs. At Siena, half a century later, direct French influences were strong, and we find the

¹ Mr Cummings, being unaware that the façade of the Orvieto Cathedral is sixty years older than that of the Sienese Duomo, regards the former as an improved copy of the latter. Nevertheless, in making the usual comparison between the two façades, he shows keen powers of observation and considerable critical judgment.

Sieneſe façade decorated not with reliefs but with a profuſion of figures in which we can trace the influence of the northern ſculptors. At the ſame time the façade of Orvieto Cathedral was early beautified by abundance of moſaic, which covered it above like a beautiful garment.¹ At Siena, only the gables of the weſt front were adorned with colour.²

The façade of the Sieneſe Duomo has a certain effectiveness, but it is ſtructurally faulty, and decoratively it is lacking in reſe and dignity. And yet there is enough of pure beauty in it to make it a ſource of pleaſure to the moſt exacting traveller; but it is a beauty that ſoon cloyſ and wearies. The whole compoſition is an artiſtic *tour de force*, brilliant but unſatisfying to the deeper æſthetic feelings.

The interior of the Duomo is more attractive than the exterior. On a bright noon in Auguſt, in which month the pictured pavement is uncovered, the appearance of the interior, although ſplendid, is ſome-what bizarre. It is beſt ſeen at the hour of ſunſet. Then the ſharp, perpetual antithetiſ of black and white becomes leſſ glaring, leſſ inſiſtent. Niccola Piſano's pulpit, Vecchietta's tabernacle, Pintoricchio's freſco, Marrina's doorway, and other objects of beauty fall into their proper place in the general decorative ſcheme. The clamour of monotonouſ contrast is ſubdued; and ſomething approaching harmony, in

¹ Recent compariſons of the façades of the Cathedrals of Siena and Orvieto are baſed upon the aſſumption that ſtructurally the latter façade has undergone no important modifications ſince the fourteenth century. This, however, is not the caſe. The façade underwent ſtructural alteration in 1371 and in 1450-51. See Nardini-Deſpotti's *Lorenzo del Maſtano e la Facciata del Duomo d'Orvieto, eſtratto dall' Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, Roma, 1891.

² The patches of red moſaic in the original decorative framework round the circular window are ſo ſmall that they can ſcarcely have been noticeable.

which a warm brown is the dominant note, takes its place.

The Duomo of Siena with all its bizarreness is a symbol, a pathetic symbol, of the life of a people. The unfinished remnant of the great Cathedral which the citizens began to build, typifies the republic. The old church, which existed before the great nave, and which lived on after it had become a mere ruin, typifies the city of Siena. We find written, too, within and about its walls a record of the hopes, the emotions, the higher aspirations of a race whose characteristic temperament is full of apparent if not actual contrasts. Sensuous and mystical, shrewd and yet prone to pleasant folly, with a child-like faith in tradition and legendary story yet unconventional and liberty-loving, passionate alike in love and in hatred, this strange people has here expressed itself in stone.

“Shut the gates of the city,” cried a certain Duke of Tuscany when he was asked to build an asylum in Siena, “Shut the gates of the city, and you will have your mad-house ready made.” The Duke’s gibe was not altogether without justification. There is something in the Sienese temperament which a keenly practical race like the Florentines naturally enough regarded as a strain of insanity. And this quality manifests itself, I think, in their national temple. The Duomo of Siena seems to me to be the expression of a temperament never quite sane, never quite at harmony with itself, and yet a brave, sympathetic, kindly temperament.

Of the later history of the Duomo little need be said here. The beautiful eastern façade, the façade of the Baptistery, was erected a few years later than the western, after a design by the painter Giacomo di Mino

di Neri del Pellicciaio, a design which is still to be seen in the Opera del Duomo. The smaller Baptistery in the north-west angle of the north transept was built by Giovanni di Stefano in 1482. The Piccolomini Library, of which we shall have more to say in a subsequent chapter, was added in 1495. The only subsequent addition to the Duomo that is of any importance is the Cappella del Voto, built for the old Madonna of Siena, the Madonna before whom the Sienese prayed on the eve of Montaperti.¹ This chapel, which is in the south-west angle of the south transept, was ordained by Alexander VII in 1661.

Of the other churches of Siena, with the exception, perhaps, of San Domenico, San Francesco, S. Sebastiano² and S. Maria delle Nevi, there are none that are of any great architectural importance. Each of the great preaching Orders erected a church in Siena in the thirteenth century. The church of San Francesco was built by the Franciscans in the latter part of the thirteenth century, in the quasi-Gothic style that became popular in Italy in that age. The preaching Orders required churches capable of holding large congregations at small cost. In these churches there were to be, if possible, no detached supports to the roof, which might prevent the preacher from being seen by a portion of his congregation. The architect of San Francesco succeeded in doing what was required of him, but he did not produce a beautiful church. In later ages the interior of San Francesco was richly

¹ That the *Madonna del Voto* is identical with the *Madonna degli Occhi Grossi* is now certain. See the *Misc. Stor. Sen.*, vol. i. (1893), num. i., pp. 10 and 11.

² S. Sebastiano, in Valle Piatta, is now used as the chapel of the Contrada of the Selva.

adorned by the greatest of Sienese painters and sculptors. Unfortunately, many of these works perished in a fire that partially destroyed the church in 1655; and the bad taste of the eighteenth century completed the ruin wrought in the seventeenth. In the present generation San Francesco has been restored at considerable cost, and is now much admired by the Sienese.

The Dominicans were at first content with a much smaller temple than San Francesco. In 1220, they began to build an unpretending church on the slopes of the hill of San Prospero overlooking Fontebranda. But in the latter part of the fifteenth century they decided to erect a much larger church, equal in size to that of the rival Order, near the Porta Ovale. The old church, strengthened by massive buttresses, served as the foundation of the eastern portion of the new building. Its architect, Domenico Cinquini, like the builder of San Francesco, was required to build "the largest possible church at the smallest possible cost." He also was compelled to forego the use of massive piers which might interfere in some measure with the function of the edifice as a great preaching-house. Although he worked in the noontide of the Renaissance, he adopted the quasi-Gothic style of his predecessors.¹ And on a very difficult site he succeeded in building a large church without any pretensions to beauty, but well adapted to the purpose for which it was intended.²

¹ In the Palazzo Marsili rebuilt in 1459, we find another building of exactly the same period which is entirely Gothic in style. But the existence of these two edifices—San Domenico and the Palazzo Marsili—in Siena does not justify the extreme conclusions that have been expressed as to the continued predilection of the Sienese for the Gothic style. For of these buildings, the one was a copy, the other an enlargement of an old building.

² *Misc. Stor. Sen.*, vol. iii. (1895), p. 58.

Of the ecclesiastical architecture of Siena during the period of the Renaissance, little need be said. Two of the greatest architects of that period, Francesco di Giorgio and Baldassare Peruzzi, were Sienese. But although they painted pictures for their native city and designed fortifications for her defence they erected no churches within her walls. The consummate artist who built S. Maria del Calcinaio on the olive-clad slopes below tower-crowned Cortona, has left no monument of his architectural genius in his own Siena.¹ The most beautiful ecclesiastical building in the city, of the period of the Renaissance, is the little church of S. Maria delle Nevi, erected by order of Giovanni de' Cinughi,² Bishop of Pienza, in the year 1470; the largest is the church of the Servi di Maria, built at the same time as the Madonna delle Nevi, an edifice which shows strong Florentine influences, and was probably designed by some local admirer of Brunelleschi. The influence of the same architect is seen in the little church of S. Sebastiano in Valle Piatta, the church of the Foundling Hospital, also used as the chapel of the Contrada della Selva, which was built by Girolamo di Maestro Domenico Ponsi at the close of the fifteenth century. It has a pleasant interior in the form of a Greek cross, which calls to the mind certain nobler buildings, the Pazzi chapel at S. Croce in Florence, and S. Maria delle Carceri, Giuliano da Sangallo's beautiful church at Prato.

¹ The Palazzo Constantini may have been designed by him. Professor Rossi attributes the design of the church of the Madonna delle Nevi to Francesco di Giorgio, but I know of no evidence that can be alleged in support of this attribution. Francesco di Giorgio raised the roof of the church of S. Francesco in 1482, but did not otherwise alter the building. See Borghesi and Banchi, *op. cit.*, Siena, Torrini, 1898, p. 258.

² The Cinughi were an old Sienese family, a branch of the Florentine house of Pazzi. See the *Misc. Stor. Sen.*, vol. i. (1893), p. 169.

II.—*Civil Architecture.*

With the single exception of Venice, there is no city so rich in Gothic palaces as Siena.¹ Following upon the rapid growth of the city's trade in the early years of the thirteenth century, there came a great advance in domestic architecture. Wealthy trading families like the Tolomei and the Salimbeni built for themselves imposing palaces in the heart of the city. Under the rule of the Ventiquattro, substantial middle-class houses also became common in the streets of Siena. But whilst large portions of the structures of many of the smaller *palazzi* remain, all the houses of the great mercantile magnates were rebuilt during the period of the *Nove*. In consequence of the erection of the Palazzo della Signoria, a new fashion arose in architecture. No man of wealth and position was content unless he had a gracefully-designed brick palace with rows of pointed and cusped windows of two- or three-lights on the second and third storeys. Thus the larger Gothic palaces of Siena belong for the most part to one brief period of sixty years, to the period that intervened between the foundation of the Palazzo della Signoria and the great plague of 1348. Owing to the general influence which the building of the great Palace had upon civil architecture, owing in a measure, too, to the action of the Government, who set the

¹ Mr Cummings says that Siena was spared "the bad eminence of bloody feud and frequent broil," that "the fighting of the Sienese was done for the most part outside their walls, and against alien foes," and he attributes the number and condition of the Gothic palaces of Siena "to her comparative exemption from internecine strife." It is a pity that Mr Cummings' book—which is in many ways a useful work—is disfigured by statements of this kind.

fashion of imitating the architecture of their Palace by enacting that all new houses built in the Piazza del Campo must have two-light or three-light windows *a colonnelli*, the Sienese palaces have a peculiar national character. Although good stone was plentiful in the neighbourhood of Siena,¹ the wealthy citizens chose that their houses should be for the most part of brick. Stone was used for the graceful columns which support the arches of the Gothic windows for the battlements and string-courses, and sometimes for the entire ground storey, which is always severely plain. The palaces are as a rule of three storeys, but there are some exceptions. In the two upper storeys are rows of well-formed ogival windows with two- or three-lights separated by a column or columns.

The Palazzo della Signoria, then, is the earliest as well as the most important of the greater Gothic palaces of Siena, and in point of architectural style it is the parent of the rest.² A building in which had been housed several Government departments, had occupied the centre of the lower side of the Piazza del Campo since the eleventh century. It was in 1288 that this building was acquired for the Signoria, and the new Palace commenced. As it progressed, the needs of the Government increased. The Nine decided to buy the buildings east and west of the palace, to pull them down,

¹ Mr Cummings (*op. cit.*, vol. ii. 253) is mistaken in stating that there is little stone available in the neighbourhood of Siena. The surrounding country is peculiarly rich in good building stone, and especially in marble of different colours. The Sienese architects had a variety of beautiful material ready to hand. My knowledge of the stone of the Sienese *contado* is based upon my own study and observation. But if confirmation is required of a well-known fact, I refer readers to the *Guida Artistica della Città e contorni di Siena*, Siena, 1883, p. 80, and to the *Misc. Stor. Sen.*, vol. iii. (1895) p. 94.

² It is scarcely necessary for me to say that I do not regard the existing Palazzo Tolomei as identical with the building erected in 1205.



PALAZZO PUBBLICO, SIENA.

[Alinari.]

[To face p. 288.]

and to extend the Palace either way. The building was not finished until 1309.

The Palazzo Pubblico is built of brick. It consists of a broad central tower and two wings. The wings originally were but two storeys high. A third storey was added to them at a later date. At the northern extremity stands the tall, graceful Mangia Tower.¹ The bearing arches of the lowest storey of the Palace are filled with brickwork and adorned with the city's shield. In the second and third storeys are well-formed three-light windows with solid heads, upon which, also, the city's shield is to be seen.

The Mangia Tower was begun in the year 1338.² Its earliest architects were two Perugians, Minuccio di Rinaldo and Francesco, his brother, to whom succeeded Agostino di Giovanni, the sculptor of Guido Tarlati's monument at Arezzo. It was built at first with simple vertical lines like many another palace tower in the city. But when the building had reached a certain height, it was decided that it should have a more worthy crown than its sister towers, and Lippo di Memmo, Simone Martini's great pupil, was asked to make a design for its completion. This design Lippo furnished in 1341. Nevertheless the work of finishing the tower progressed but slowly; and it was not until 1349 that it was finally completed.

¹ The Mangia Tower obtained its name in this way. Before there were public clocks, certain of the bells of the city were struck at fixed hours to advise the inhabitants of the time. At the head of the men appointed to this office, a certain Giovanni Ducci was nicknamed Mangia, or Mangiaguadagni. His place was taken by an automaton to whom the same nickname was given. For centuries this figure was called the Mangia, and in time the tower was generally styled the *Torre del Mangia*.

² The best account of the history of the tower is given in Lisini's articles—entitled *Chi fu l'Architetto della Torre del Mangia?*—in the *Misc. Stor. Sen.* of September and October 1894.

This tower rises from the square like some long-stemmed lily. The plain, straight stalk is crowned by a beautifully-formed flower, a white flower whose graceful lines are seen against the blue sky from many miles away. The machicolations of the Mangia Tower are composed of sixteen pointed arches, four on each side of it, with long slender corbels between them. The frieze above is adorned with the shield of the Republic; and is surmounted by battlements, the openings of which correspond with the pointed arches below. Upon this machicolated structure is erected a belfry having one round, open arch on each face. Above these arches are small, round-arched machicolations and a plain frieze with battlements above.

The chapel at the foot of the tower, the Cappella del Voto, was ordained as a votive chapel at the time of the great plague of 1348. Begun in the year 1352, the oratory then built did not please the citizens, and part of it at least, was pulled down. It was in the year 1376 the building of the chapel was recommenced in earnest. The structural part was soon finished. But for many years the *operai* of the Duomo to whose charge it was committed, continued to add to its decorations. In the fifteenth century, in the year 1460, the chapel underwent drastic alteration. Antonio Federighi was commissioned to raise its roof and to add a new frieze.

In the year 1297, when the Palazzo della Signoria was being built, an enactment was made by the Signory which commanded that, in future, all who built houses in the Piazza del Campo were to insert in them Gothic windows with piers.¹ Thus the architects were compelled, in one

¹ Borghesi and Banchi, *Nuovi Documenti*, etc., Siena, Torrini, 1898, p. 1,

respect, to imitate the Palazzo della Signoria; and that palace, with its brick façade, its severe lower storey and its rows of graceful windows above, served as the model of many Sienese palaces. Amongst the earliest of these are the Palazzo Sansedoni and the Palazzo Buonsignori, both of which, in part, belong to the later half of the thirteenth century.

The Palazzo Sansedoni stands in the Piazza del Campo opposite the Palazzo Pubblico. It is one of the largest of Siena's palaces, and at one time was even larger than it is to-day. Of its once tall tower, but a small portion remains. It has a good cornice supported by a round-arched corbel-table. Above the cornice is a narrow frieze which is surmounted by battlements. Unlike the majority of the other Gothic palaces of Siena, it has more than three storeys. Thirty-six three-light windows with solid heads adorn its façade. The general effect of the building is somewhat monotonous. The Palazzo Sansedoni has not the charm of some other Sienese palaces of this period.

A more graceful structure is the Palazzo Buonsignori in the Via S. Pietro. It has three storeys, the lowest of which dates from the thirteenth century. Of the rest of the building the greater part probably belongs to the first decade of the following century. In the lowest storey we find the round and the pointed arch in combination, as in some other thirteenth-century buildings in Siena. In each of the two upper storeys there is a row of three-light windows with solid heads somewhat similar to those of the Palazzo Pubblico. The palace front is crowned by boldly-designed battlements. Like other Sienese palaces of the period the Palazzo Buonsignori is of brick.

Of a slightly later date is the Palazzo Grottanelli, which was at first inhabited by the Captain of War, and afterwards passed in turn into the possession of the Squarcialupi and the Pecci. Like the earlier palaces, it is of a severe type of beauty, but the growing luxurious taste of the people betrays itself unobtrusively in window and in battlement. This palace was considerably altered in the fifteenth century, but was restored to its original form in the nineteenth. It has but two storeys, the lower of which is entirely of stone. In the upper storey the windows are of two lights, with a circle in the head of each. The fine square battlements are decorated with two rows of bricks set in and out.

Of the same period are the Palazzo Saracini and the Palazzo Salimbeni, both of which took the place of earlier palaces. In the Palazzo Tolomei, built somewhat later than these, is probably incorporated a portion of an earlier building erected by the same family in 1205.

Siena is richer in good examples of the civil and domestic architecture of the age of the Renaissance than in well-designed ecclesiastical buildings of that period. In the Loggia di Mercanzia, the Loggia di Pio Secondo, the Piccolomini, Nerucci and Spannocchi Palaces, and the Palazzo dei Monaci di San Galgano, we have a group of edifices¹ designed by some of the greatest masters of the age, not for the most part imposing in size, or sumptuous in decoration, but nevertheless of deep interest to the serious student of Italian architecture.

It was in the year 1309 that the Consuls of the two

¹ With the single exception of the Loggia di Mercanzia they belong to the age of Æneas Silvius Piccolomini, and were built by the Pope himself, his relatives, and dependents.

Merchant Guilds determined to have a building of their own, instead of renting a house as they had previously done.¹ In that year they bought certain houses on the site of the existing loggia. The loggia and chapel were erected a century later. In 1416, the great Council entrusted the building of them to Sano di Matteo, architect-in-chief of the Cathedral of Orvieto.

The Loggia di Mercanzia, known in later times as the Loggia de' Nobili, and now called the Loggia degli Uniti, had originally but one storey. An upper storey was added at a later date. The loggia is rectangular in shape, being composed of three open bays below, and is attached on one side to a palace. The arches of the arcade are round. On the four detached piers, on the side or sides of them that face the street, are canopies, under each of which is a large sculptured figure. Although the loggia is wanting in lightness, it is by no means strongly constructed. The tie-rods that hold the arcades together proclaim the incompetence of its architects. The edifice is at once heavy and insecure.

But after all that can be urged against the loggia has been urged, it has enough of loveliness to make the Sienese justly proud of it. The charm of its decoration atones in a measure, if only in a measure, for the constructive mistakes of its architects. Minella and Vecchietta, Federighi and Marrina, Urbano da Cortona and Pastorino Pastorini have helped to make beautiful this characteristically Italian building. As the sojourner in Siena walks down the narrow winding Via Cavour, this loggia suddenly greets him, imparting to him at once a sensation of dignity and sumptuousness. He

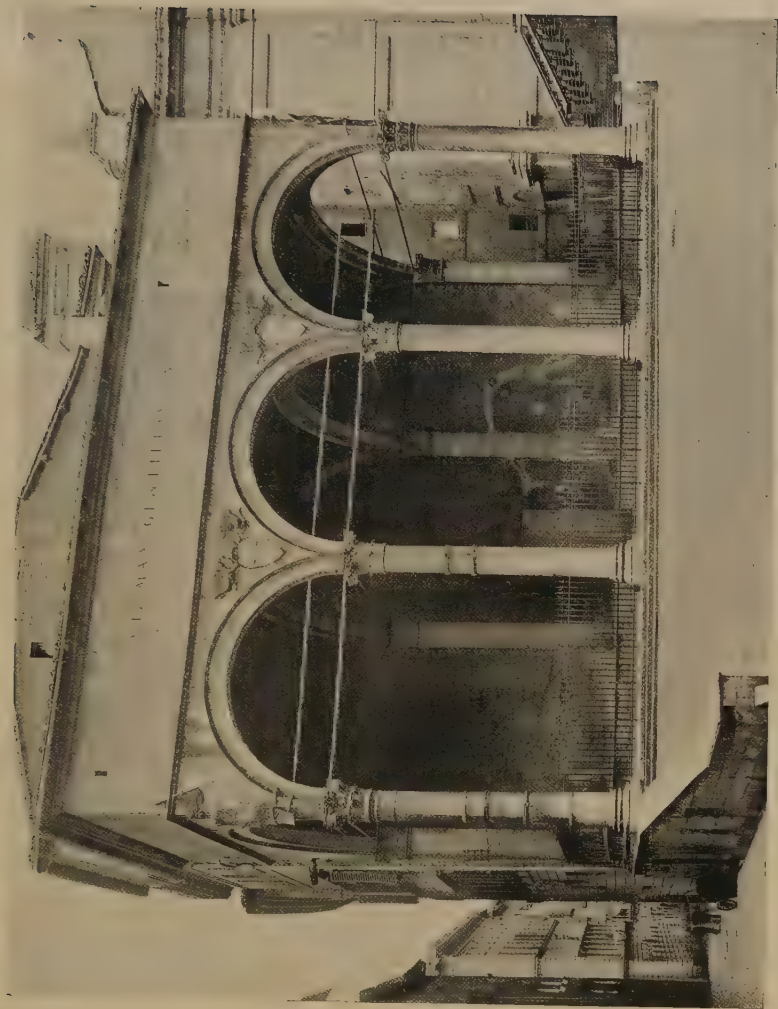
¹ *Misc. Stor. Sen.*, vol. iii., 1895, p. 27.

experiences a feeling of pleasure as he catches a glimpse of this luxurious, beautifully-decorated retreat from the hot sunlight of summer and winter rain. And as these are the principal sensations that such a building ought to convey, the artists who made it have not altogether failed.

The Loggia del Papa was built, at the cost of Pius II, in 1462, nearly half a century after the erection of the Loggia di Mercanzia. It was designed by Antonio Federighi, one of the greatest of the Sienese artists of the Renaissance, of whose work as a sculptor we shall have occasion to speak in a later chapter. It presents a striking contrast to the older loggia. Almost devoid of decoration, it depends almost entirely upon its architectural qualities for the effect it creates. It is at once lighter and more imposing than the loggia of the Via della Città, more graceful in its outlines, more harmonious in its proportions. Of the same period are the Palazzo Todeschini-Piccolomini, where the archives of Siena have found a home; the Palazzo Nerucci, now the Banca d'Italia, designed by Rossellino for Pius II's sister, Caterina Piccolomini, but actually built under the superintendence first of Federighi and afterwards of Urbano da Cortona; the Palazzo del Turco, also called the Palazzo dei Diavoli, designed by Federighi; the Palazzo Spannocchi, now the Post Office, erected in 1472 by Giuliano da Maiano;¹ the Palazzo dei Monaci di San Galgano, built two years later by the same architect; and the Palazzo Constantini which has been attributed to Francesco di Giorgio.

Of these palaces the most remarkable is the Palazzo Todeschini-Piccolomini. It was built by Pietro Paolo

¹ *Misc. Stor. Sen.*, vol. iii., 1895, p. 59.



LOGGIA DEL PAPA (Antonio Federighi).

[Alinari.]



PALAZZO CONSTANTINI.

[Alinari.]

[To face p. 294.]

Porrina of Casole,¹ Francesco di Giorgio's rival. Siena possesses several buildings of the Quattrocento that are not devoid of charm. But this is the only Renaissance edifice in the city that affects the imagination in the same way as do some of the great Florentine palaces. Of an austere, stately beauty, it was a fitting dwelling-place for the heads of a great house that for generations had done noble service to the State.

To the first half of the Cinquecento belong the Palazzo del Magnifico, the fine palace with its beautiful bronze ornaments which Giacomo Cozzarelli² built for Pandolfo Petrucci, the Palazzo Pollini, attributed, and not without reason I think, to Baldassare Peruzzi, the loggia of St Catherine's House, also attributed to Peruzzi, and several less important buildings.

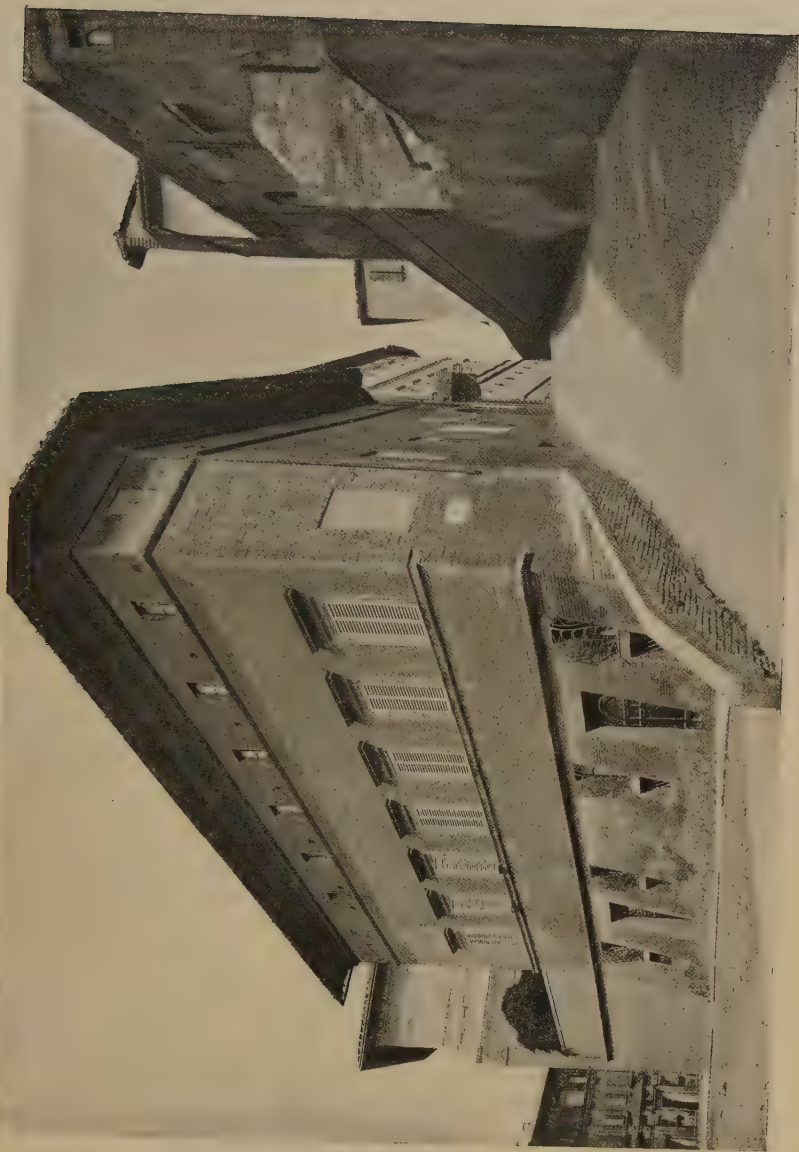
We see then, that almost all the buildings of any architectural importance in Siena, belong to one of four brief periods. The first of these was the period of transition from Romanesque to Gothic, the period of the *Ventiquattro*, the period of the building of the Duomo. It lasted from about 1230 to 1266. The second period was the Gothic period, the period of the *Nove*, the period of the great unfinished Cathedral and of the Gothic palaces. It continued from 1288 to 1357. The third period was the earlier Renaissance period, the period of Pius II. It occupied but fifteen years, from 1460 to 1475. The last period was the later Renaissance

¹ Allegretto Allegretti, *Diarij Sanesi*; in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, t. xxiii., c. 773.

² Giacomo Cozzarelli, sculptor and architect, is not to be confounded with Giudoccio Cozzarelli, the painter and miniaturist. Mr Hastings, the latest writer on Siena, whose interesting essay has come under my notice whilst I am correcting the final proofs of this book, has, I see, made this mistake. See *Siena, its Architecture and Art*, London, 1902, p. 30.

period, the age of Pandolfo Petrucci. It lasted from 1487 to 1512. The chief edifices erected in Siena's brief age of tyranny were the Palazzo del Magnifico, S. Sebastiano in Valle Piatta and the Church of San Spirito.

Buildings of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance abound in the streets of Siena. Possessing, as they do, a peculiar local character, they impart to the city a striking individuality. In our Hausmannised modern cities a quarter of one town closely resembles a quarter in some other town. But there is no place that looks like Siena. And this distinctive quality permeates every part of her. She has the charm that belongs to a pleasant and original personality, a charm that fully reveals itself in her outward aspect.



PALAZZO POLLINI, DESIGNED BY PERUZZI.

[*Alinari.*

[*To face p. 296.*

CHAPTER XVII

THE SCULPTURE OF SIENA

IN Italy, in the Middle Ages, as in old Byzantium, every movement of advance in art began with a return to antiquity. The renaissance of the art of sculpture in Tuscany, like the renaissance of architecture, first showed itself in a revival of classical forms. But in sculpture as in architecture, it was not the art of Greece that the Pisans imitated, but the art of Rome, of imperial Rome. In sculpture, too, as in architecture, the classical revival was ultimately followed by another movement, a movement that derived its inspiration from the Gothic art of France.

Of the earlier of these two movements in the art of sculpture we see the first stirrings in the works of such artists as Gruamons and Rodolfino, the pioneers of the neo-Roman school of Central Italy. There is an example of this school in Siena. In the Duomo, built into the wall of the chapel of S. Ansano, are certain bas-reliefs representing the Annunciation, the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi, in which we find a crude but not unpleasing imitation of Roman forms.

This movement in architecture and sculpture in Tuscany was but a part of a general movement which had more important and earlier manifestations elsewhere, a genuine proto-Renaissance. Just as in our cold English

February there come sometimes a few golden days bright with presages of the spring, so in the winter-time of the Middle Ages there was a brief period of sunshine, when a few flowers sprang up here and there from the old, seemingly dead roots of antique culture.

The proto-Renaissance had five chief centres—Byzantium, Toledo, Provence, the Kingdom of Sicily, and Rome. It was in Byzantium that it first showed itself. There an art revival, which commenced in the ninth century under Basil the Macedonian, was followed in the eleventh by another movement of advance, which manifested itself especially in ivory-carvings, in bronze reliefs, and in miniatures. In some of these works we find evidences of a sincere desire to render natural form, as well as a more artistic treatment of drapery. In representing a draped figure the artist is no longer content to represent the folds of the robe by a mere web of decorative lines. He seeks to make us feel the material significance of the form he portrays.

In Spain, the movement showed itself in literature : in Provence, both in literature and in the arts of architecture and sculpture : in Rome, in the mosaics of the Cosmati. The movement reached its climax in Sicily and Apulia under Frederick II. There, for one brief period, the new life manifested itself in many departments of human effort. It brought forth fruit of all kinds, in architecture, in sculpture, in mosaic, in literature. Its chief source of inspiration was the art of ancient Rome, but to it flowed, too, streams of vitality from other centres of the new life. Artists from Byzantium made coins for Frederick, and decorated his walls with mosaic. Michael Scot, his tutor, brought to Palermo from Toledo the lore of Aristotle. Provençal



BAS-RELIEF OF XIIITH CENTURY. In the Cathedral, Siena.

[*Alinari.*

[*To face p. 298.*

poets sang their new measures in the shade of the ilex-groves of Sicily.

This Sicilian Renaissance had a brief but brilliant manifestation in sculpture. The first eddies of a new movement in sculpture reached Southern Italy from Byzantium in the twelfth century. We see signs of it in the doors of the cathedrals of Benevento and Ravello. The maker of these doors, Barisano da Trani, shows that he had escaped in some measure from the tyranny of convention which had held sway over Bonanno, who had moulded the south door of the Pisan cathedral in the preceding generation. Under Frederick II, this movement, which had at first revealed itself in bronze reliefs, now sought other means of expression. Artists began to produce isolated figures carved in stone which showed strong traces of classical influence. At imperial Capua, where Frederick erected a great fortress, at Foggia, where was his chief residence, at Ravello, and at Amalfi, there flourished artists who imitated the works of the sculptors of the later Roman empire.

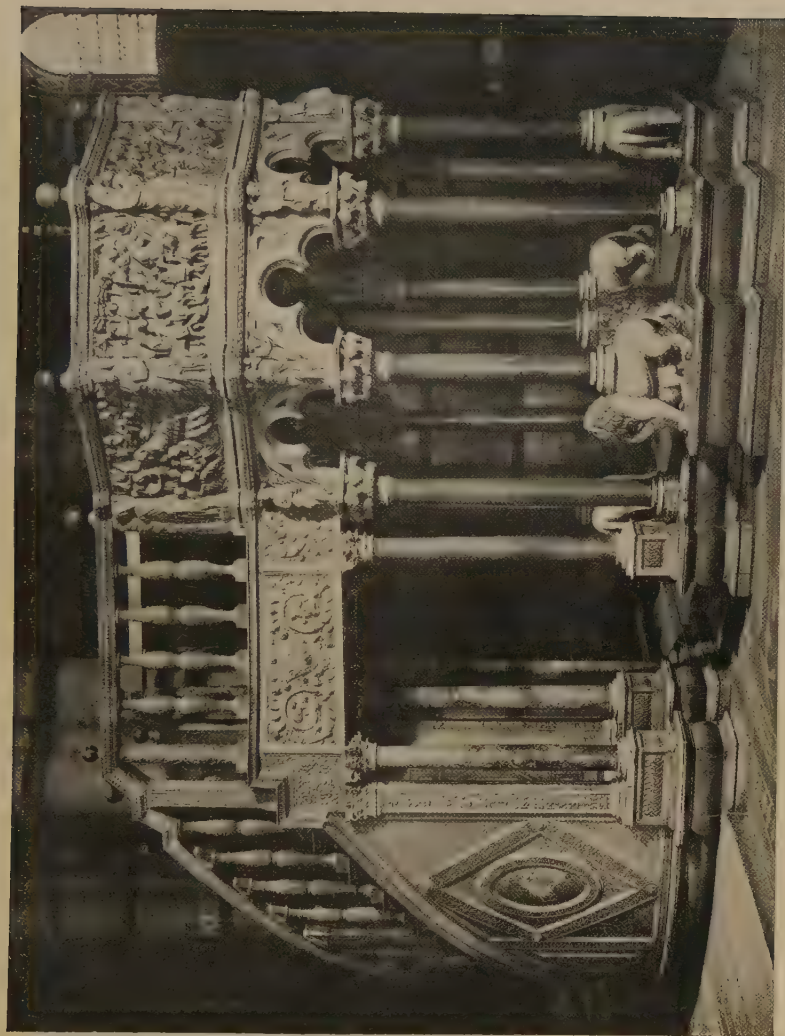
It was in this country, in Apulia, that Niccola Pisano probably received his early training.¹ It was

¹ In a document already quoted, of the date May 12, 1266 (*Arch. dell'Opera del Duomo di Siena*, Perg., No. 293, printed by Milanese in *Documenti*, vol. i., p. 149), it is said that Fra Melano "requisivit magistrum Nicholam Petri de Apulia." From this it would seem to be obvious that Nicholas was a native of Apulia, with which province the inhabitants both of Pisa and Siena had much intercourse in the days of Frederick II. But this explanation does not satisfy ardent Tuscans. They have sought to show that the old traditional view was right, that the father of modern Tuscan art was a fellow-countryman of theirs. A Siennese archivist searched Tuscany to find some obscure hamlet bearing a name resembling that of the southern province. He succeeded in his quest, but his success did not please the Pisans. They said that they did not wish "to yield to another Tuscan town an honour which up to then had been all their own." (Tanfani Centofanti, *Della Patria di Niccola Pisano, estratto dal giornale, Lettere e Arti*, No. 12, Bologna, 1890,

from the southern masters that he acquired his admirable technique. This young sprig of classicalism, transplanted into Tuscan soil, found there a congenial environment. He found a neo-classical movement, crude and ill-informed, it is true, in what concerned sculpture, but brilliant in its architectural manifestations, which had already been long in progress. He found, too, ancient sarcophagi and other relics of antiquity, suitable materials for further study. Niccola's earliest known work in sculpture, the pulpit of Pisa, finished in 1260, is entirely classical in spirit. The new artistic movement that was in progress in France had already reached Tuscany, but, as yet, it had only affected architecture. In the reliefs of the Pisan pulpit, Niccola is whole-heartedly neo-Roman. Being a consummate artist, he was no mere imitator: he has realised again for himself the old types: he has given them a new vitality and a new grace. But his work in relief is entirely classical in spirit as well as in form. It

pp. 4, 5). They pointed to the fact that Niccola was styled Pisanus as a proof of his Pisan origin.

The argument that the words "de Apulia" signify that Niccola was a native of an obscure village called Puglia, near Lucca, or of another hamlet of the same name, near Arezzo, has nothing to recommend it, and obviously owes its origin to Tuscan patriotism. Nor does the fact that Niccola was called Pisanus prove that he was a native of Pisa. In many an early document an artist is spoken of as though he were a native of a certain town, when, in fact, he had only resided a long time there. It is, of course, just possible that Niccola himself was styled "de Apulia," not because he was born there, but because he had resided in Apulia for some time in his early years. But that question is of little importance to art historians; the main fact is that whilst still young he was brought under the direct influence of the masters of the southern classical revival. For this fact both documents and *stilkritik* afford sufficient evidence. This question has been discussed by Milanesi in his edition of Vasari (vol. i., p. 321-329), by Tanfani Centofanti, *Notizie di Artisti tratte dai Documenti Pisani*, Pisa, 1898, pp. 389-393, as well as in the pamphlet mentioned above, and by Sir John Crowe in the *Nineteenth Century* for April 1896.



THE PULPIT IN THE CATHEDRAL, SIENA (Niccola Pisano).

[Alinari.]

[To face p. 300.

has the calmness, the breadth, the dignity of the antique.

It was in the year 1266 that Niccola was summoned to Siena by the Cistercian, Fra Melano, to erect a pulpit in the cathedral. With his arrival in the town, began the history of the Siennese school of sculpture. In the six years that had intervened since the completion of the pulpit of Pisa, an important event had happened, one of the greatest events in the whole history of the sculptor's art. The pioneers of modern Italian sculpture had set out upon a new road. In the reliefs of the Siena pulpit we can trace the influence of the great nameless sculptors of mediæval France—the masters who made beautiful the portals of Chartres and Amiens, of Rheims and Strasbourg. In some way or other, we know not how, these great masters had begun to influence Niccola Pisano. The Siena pulpit marks the commencement of a fresh epoch in the history of the plastic art. Italian sculpture now seeks to express more violent, more poignant emotions, emotions which some of us think are unsuitable for expression in such a medium. To attain its new ends, it sacrifices the generality, the repose of the old sculpture. *The Last Judgment* of the Siena pulpit paves the way for Giovanni Pisano's *Massacre of the Innocents*. But a few years after Niccola moulded this relief of the *Last Judgment*, Tuscan sculpture was already well advanced upon the road which led to the splendid failures of the Medici chapel. Even at Siena it was already beginning to sacrifice its purely decorative qualities, in order to express a wider range of feeling. The compositions of the reliefs are more crowded than those at Pisa. In the individual

figures, direct Roman influence is still manifest everywhere, but they are somewhat less dignified in their attitudes, somewhat less restrained in their gestures, than those of the Pisan reliefs. The whole design of the pulpit of Siena is not so well articulated, not so well proportioned, as that of the earlier work.

The Siena pulpit is octagonal in form. It rests upon nine columns, four of which are supported by lions and lionesses. There are reliefs on seven of its sides which represent the Nativity, the Epiphany, the Presentation in the Temple and the Flight into Egypt, the Slaughter of the Innocents, The Crucifixion, and the Last Judgment. In the Pisan pulpit, groups of graceful marble columns, forming part of the framework of the whole architectural scheme of the pulpit, are placed between the reliefs at the angle of the hexagon. At Siena, sculptured figures of sacred personages take the place of these groups of columns. The change is not for the better. Traces of French influences are most clearly seen in the isolated figures at the angles of the pulpit. The *Madonna and Child* might have been carved at Chartres or at Rheims. The figure of *Virtue* is scarcely less French in feeling and execution.

In the Opera del Duomo there is a fragment of a bas-relief of the school of Niccola Pisano representing the *Harmony of the Evangelists* which is a symbol of all of the works of this period of transition. In the centre, in a shell-like framework, is the head of a woman representing Divine Truth, or Faith. The head is that of a Roman matron, and both head and niche might have been copied from a late classical sarcophagus. Round this head are placed the four symbols of the



THE VISITATION AND THE NATIVITY.
A portion of the Pulpit in the Cathedral, Siena (Niccola Pisano).

[*Alinari.*

[*To face p. 302.*

Evangelists, in the midst of a great deal of leaf ornament which is entirely Gothic in character.

With Giovanni Pisano the transition is complete. The art of sculpture is dominated by an entirely new spirit. The artist no longer seeks to delight us by the representation of pure form: he is no longer content to make a beautiful decoration: he endeavours to convey to us intense passion, deep personal emotion. The Slaughter of the Innocents, the Resurrection of the Damned—these are the subjects he loves. He is for ever striving to make his medium express either what it cannot express or what it can only express with obvious difficulty. Giovanni was saved from absolute failure by his extraordinary genius. His grasp of his medium was marvellous. In his hands marble became as ductile and pliable as molten glass. Sometimes he almost succeeds for the moment in convincing us that his aims are realisable.

Although Giovanni held the office of chief architect of the Duomo of Siena for fourteen years, no work that can with certainty be ascribed to him is to be found in the city. Nevertheless his influence upon Sienese sculpture was incalculable. In the early years of the fourteenth century there grew up a large and important school of sculptors in the city. But of the more important artists of this school, as of their master, nothing remains in Siena. To see their masterpieces we must travel to other cities—to Naples, to Pistoia, to Arezzo, to Florence, and above all, to Orvieto. Lorenzo del Maitano, Niccola Nuti, and other unknown sculptors, who decorated with reliefs the central and southern portals of the cathedral of Orvieto, were the greatest masters of the Siena-Pisan school,

A distinguished French critic, M. Reymond, has recently sought to prove that none of the reliefs on the façade of this cathedral were by Sienese sculptors. But his main argument is based upon a false assumption. He takes it for granted that the existing façade of the Duomo of Siena is the work of Giovanni Pisano. He holds that this façade marks the beginning of a new era in art, that it was the first example of Gothic architecture in Tuscany. From it he draws his conclusions as to the characteristic qualities of the Sienese school of sculpture at the beginning of the fourteenth century. He maintains that the sculptors of the city, in response to the demand for statues for the new Gothic façade, had forsaken the art of low-relief, and had adopted artistic aims differing from those of the Pisan school.

M. Reymond¹ here makes three mistakes which vitiate his whole argument. In the first place, the façade of Siena, as we have already seen, was not built until sixty years after that of Orvieto, and all conclusions based on the theory that it was the work of Giovanni Pisano and his Sienese pupils are valueless. Secondly, the early sculptors of Siena did not devote themselves especially to figure sculpture. Thirdly, they did not give up the carving of bas-reliefs. The works of Agostino di Giovanni and Agnolo di Ventura, of Tino di Camaino, of Cellino di Nese, and of Goro di Gregorio² afford ample proof that this branch of the plastic art was as largely practised by the Sienese as by contemporary Pisan and Florentine sculptors. M. Reymond's argument, based as it is upon a mistake, is of little value.

¹ Reymond, *La Sculpture Florentine*, vol. i., etc., pp. 131-143.

² Goro's remarkable reliefs in the cathedral of remote Massa Marittima have escaped the notice of art historians,

But it is not enough for those of us who believe in the Sienese origin of the reliefs at Orvieto to show that the French critic, and those who agree with him, have failed to prove their case. We must demonstrate that our own theory rests upon strong foundations. What reasons, then, can be alleged for attributing the bas-reliefs of the central and southern portals of Orvieto Cathedral to Maitano and his followers? I will summarise them very briefly:—

Firstly, there are good grounds for believing that the lower part of the façade, and, with it, the reliefs around the central and south doors, was erected during Maitano's tenure of the post of architect-in-chief.

There are no documents relating to the cathedral, of the years 1310 to 1321. The documents which belong to the period that intervened between 1321 and Maitano's death in 1330 are few in number; but they are sufficient to show that at that time the lower part of the façade was being built. The documents relating to the period immediately following Maitano's death prove that the work upon the lower part of the façade was finished, and that the arcading above it was then in process of construction. Again, we know that it was Maitano's own idea that the façade should be decorated with bas-reliefs; for such a method of ornamentation is indicated in one of the alternative designs, still existing, which he laid before the *operai*. It has been urged somewhat naïvely, by M. Reymond, that delicate decorative work of this kind would not have been executed at so early a date in the history of the façade. Such a remark displays either carelessness, or ignorance of the history of Italian façades. The most beautiful reliefs that are to be found in such a position, around the doorways of a great church—I

refer to the reliefs Jacopo della Quercia moulded for the central portal of San Petronio at Bologna—were completed before any other work upon the façade was taken in hand. The west front of the great Bolognese church has remained unfinished until this day. And, the history of the façade of San Petronio is not an isolated case. It was customary in Italy to complete first the central doorway of the façade. There are grounds then, for the conviction that the central and southern portals of the Duomo of Orvieto were finished before 1330.

Secondly, we know that Lorenzo del Maitano and his assistant, Niccola Nuti, were sculptors of some eminence of the Siena-Pisan school. If, too, they resembled at all other great Sieneſe followers of the Pisani, they must have practised largely the art of chiselling bas-reliefs.

Thirdly, there is documentary evidence which proves that one of the objects of the *operai* in engaging Lorenzo del Maitano and his pupils was that the Sieneſe artists should carve bas-reliefs for the cathedral. In a document, dated September 16, 1310, which announces Maitano's appointment as architect-in-chief, special allusion is made to this class of work.¹ It was stipulated that the master should be allowed to maintain what pupils he wished, at the expense of the Opera del Duomo, *ad designandum, figurandum, et faciendum lapides*, for the façade. Now the phrase *figurare lapides* is the phrase which in documents of the period is always used to signify the making of bas-reliefs. If the writer is speaking of foliations or other similar ornament he does not use the verb *figurare*, but the verb *fogliare*.

¹ Milanesi, *Documenti*, vol. i., pp. 172; 173.



[Alinari.]

HARMONY OF THE EVANGELISTS.
A fragment in the Opera Del Duomo (School of Niccola Pisano).

[To face p. 306.]

In the Latin of the period, the word *figura* always means a statue. The phrase for "To make statues" is not, however, *figurare lapides*, but *facere figuras*. The phrase *figurare lapides* is used almost invariably to indicate the carving of bas-reliefs containing figures of men and beasts.¹ I am of opinion that, before the appointment of architect-in-chief was actually made, Lorenzo had already shown the *operai* some of his designs for the façade, in which bas-reliefs were indicated.

In arriving at a conclusion as to the authorship of these reliefs, *stilkritik* can help us but little. For although there is evidence to show that Maitano was regarded as an eminent sculptor in his own day and that Niccola Nuti, his assistant, was also a sculptor, no plastic work remains that can be assigned incontestably to these artists. It may be argued that this fact tells against the theory that they chiselled the reliefs of the central and southern portals at Orvieto. It may be urged that Lorenzo del Maitano cannot have been as great a sculptor as is claimed, for, if he had been, there would be remains of other important works in sculpture undertaken by him. To the archivist no argument could be more fallacious than this. He knows well that there were several great Sienese and Florentine artists of the Trecento, men who in their own day were regarded as equal in power and achievement to the greatest contemporary masters, of whom not one single work remains that can be identified. Where, for instance, are the works of two of the most distinguished masters of the very school of sculpture to which Maitano belonged? Where are the

¹ Nardini-Despotti, *Lorenzo del Maitano, e la Facciata del Duomo d'Orvieto*, estratto dall' *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, anno iv., fasc. v., Rome, 1891, pp. 14, 15.

works in sculpture of Lando di Pietro and Ramo di Paganello? And of Agostino di Giovanni and Agnolo di Ventura have we more than a fragment of one authentic sculptured work? Maitano died in middle life. The twenty best years of his career were passed at Orvieto, where he was actively employed as chief-architect. His early works, like those of many another great artist of that period, have perished.

Such evidence as *stilskritik* affords as to the authorship of the Orvieto reliefs is by no means injurious to the theory that they were the work of Sienese sculptors. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, basing their opinion upon considerations of style, held that the reliefs upon the two central and the southern pilasters of the façade were the work of followers of Niccola and Giovanni Pisano, and that only the lower reliefs on the northernmost pilaster were by Andrea Pisano. The opinion of these distinguished critics is not at variance with that held by those who believe that these reliefs had a Sienese origin. For Lorenzo del Maitano and his Sienese pupils had formed their style under the influence of Niccola's great masterpiece as well as under the direct personal influence of Giovanni Pisano.

No argument can be drawn from Vasari's silence as to Maitano and his achievement. The *capomaestro* of Orvieto Cathedral was not the only distinguished Sienese artist whom Vasari ignored. Nay! are there not great Florentines, even, whom he has failed to take note of? What Florentine architect of the middle of the Trecento more deserved mention than Francesco Talenti, to whose genius the campanile called Giotto's, and the Florentine Cathedral, owe so much? But Talenti finds no place in the Aretine's pages.

The reliefs on the central and southern pilasters of the façade of the Cathedral of Orvieto belong to the golden age of the art of Siena, to the age of Duccio and Simone Martini, to the age of Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti, to the age of the architects of the great Cathedral. Maitano was an artistic kinsman of Simone. Like Simone he was a great designer. He had, too, something of the painter's marvellous grace of line, as well as something of his extraordinary fineness—we might almost say fastidiousness—of technique. Excepting the works of Jacopo della Quercia, the reliefs of Orvieto were the greatest achievement of the Sienese school of sculpture.

In the period that elapsed between Maitano's appointment as chief architect of Orvieto and the death of Tino di Camaino (1340) the Siena-Pisan sculptors were the most prolific school in Italy. Works by these masters are still to be found in many great Italian towns—at Naples, at Pisa, at Arezzo, at Pistoia. In Florence, itself, all the important sculptured monuments executed in the first thirty years of the Trecento were chiselled by Sienese artists. But in their native city no work by the more distinguished members of the school remains.

The chief of these masters was Tino di Camaino. It is believed that in the year 1312 he was already at work in Pisa, where he designed the baptismal font of the Cathedral, adorning it with reliefs illustrating the life of John the Baptist. This work has perished. But the scattered fragments of the tomb of the Emperor Henry VII, which he executed three years later, are still to be seen in the Pisan Campo Santo.¹ In

¹ The monument was finished in July 1316 (Pisan style). Signor Supino has shown that the existing "Tomb of Henry VII" is but a portion of the

the year 1318 he was in Siena working with his father, Camaino, who, at that time, was, as I have already stated, architect-in-chief of the Cathedral. Tino was himself appointed *Capomaestro* in the following year, but he only held the post for a few months. Subsequently he accepted employment in Florence, where, in 1322, he carved the tomb of Antonio Orso, bishop of that city. To Tino, also, is attributed the monument of Tedice Aliotti, bishop of Fiesole. But, although an inscription upon it states that this work is by the master, it was not chiselled, I think, by his own hand.

In 1324, Tino was summoned to Naples by Charles, Duke of Calabria. He resided in the southern capital for the rest of his life; and it was in that city, in the church of S. Chiara,¹ that he achieved his masterpiece—the tomb of Charles, his patron, Robert of Anjou's dearly-loved son. In Naples, too, he executed the monuments of three royal ladies, Mary of Hungary,² Matilda, Princess of Acaia, and Mary of Valois, second wife of the Duke of Calabria, as well as the memorial of the infant daughter of Charles and Mary of Valois, who followed her father to the grave in the winter of 1328-29. Of the monument of the little Angevin princess only a fragment remains, built into the wall of the north transept of S. Chiara, and joined to a portion of another monument, that of Louis, infant son of the Duke of

original monument. See Signor Supino's article *Tino di Camaino*, in the *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, Serie Seconda, anno. i., fasc. iii., Maggio-Guigno, pp. 182-186.

¹ Interesting particulars in regard to Tino di Camaino and his patrons are to be found in P. Benedetto Spila's learned monograph on the Convent of S. Chiara, entitled *Un Monumento di Sancia in Napoli* (Naples, 1901).

² The tomb of Mary of Hungary is in the church of the religious house she founded, the convent of Santa Maria Donna Regina.



[Alinari.
 MONUMENT OF SIENA TO CARDINAL RICCARDO PETRONIO, IN THE CATHEDRAL,
 SIENA (SCHOOL OF TINO DA CAMAINO).
 [To face p. 310.

Durazzo.¹ The figure of Charles' child has a peculiar charm. Battered and time-worn though it be, the feelings that inspired Tino still speak to us through his work. How could the artist but be touched with deep sympathy when the young widow of his patron, pregnant as she was, asked him to carve a monument to her dead baby?² And this work is full of pathos, of pathos simply but forcibly expressed.

Tino is certainly not an artist of the highest order of genius. But although he is very inferior to his master, Giovanni Pisano, he is no mere imitator. The sculptor of the monument of Charles, Duke of Calabria, and of the figure of Antonio Orso, has a distinctly personal style. He has not Niccola Pisano's sense of pure form or his admirable technique. He has not Giovanni's power of rendering emotion, or his marvellous facility in the use of his medium. He is lacking in fineness of execution in his smaller figures, which are often stiff and deficient in grace. In his drapery we do not find that simplicity, that grasp of the significant which we see in the work of his predecessors. But he is a charming architectural designer, and his large figures have qualities which are lacking in his reliefs.³

Of the same school were Agostino di Giovanni

¹ The guide-books speak of the two fragments as one monument, and give the date of the death of Louis, the year 1344, as the date of the death of the infant Mary.

² The infant princess Mary died, as we have seen, in the winter of 1328-29, a month or two after her father's decease. Early in 1329, Charles' widow, Mary of Valois, Duchess of Calabria, gave birth to a daughter whom she also called Mary.

³ To Tino's pupils are to be attributed the Baroncelli monument in the church of S. Croce, Florence (1327), the monument of Gaston della Torre, patriarch of Aquileia, in the cloister of S. Croce, and the monument of Riccardo Petronio in the Cathedral of Siena. Robert of Anjou's tomb at S. Chiara at Naples is by two Florentine followers of Tino.

and Agnolo di Ventura who executed Guido Tarlati's monument at Arezzo. Agostino was better known in Siena as an architect. He acted as *capomaestro* of the works of the Cathedral, built, as we have seen, a portion of the Mangia Tower, and helped to make the aqueducts which brought the water to the Fonte Gaja.

The reliefs at Arezzo are of very uneven quality both in design and in execution. For the most part they are overcrowded with figures. They have, too, other besetting faults of Tuscan bas-reliefs. They are both picturesque and illustrative. But with all their imperfections these artists have one great distinction: here and there in their achievement we discover something which dimly foreshadows Jacopo della Quercia. This is especially noticeable in the single figures of bishops which are placed between the reliefs. At a first glance one or two of them might pass for inferior works of the great master's school.

In a small chapel in the Oratory of the Confraternity of San Bernardino at Siena is a little *Madonna* by Agostino's son Giovanni. It is not without a certain naïve charm, but the sculptor was obviously a third-rate artist. It is akin to the work of some of the later Giottesques in painting. The first great tide of artistic progress in modern Italy was on the ebb. The Siena-Pisan school of sculpture was in its decadence.

In the works of Cellino di Nese we find something of the spirit of the new movement of the Renaissance. This artist was the sculptor of the first of a class of works peculiarly characteristic of the coming period.¹ He

¹ Cellino di Nese executed this monument; but some doubt exists as to who designed it. See an article by I. B. Supino, entitled "Cellino di Nese," in

made in 1337, in the Cathedral at Pistoia, the first of "the Monuments of the Professors," the monument of Cino dei Sinibaldi, poet and jurist. From that year the reliefs upon such memorials no longer had for their subjects only some event of biblical or ecclesiastical story. The sculptors were content with more mundane themes. They represented a professor lecturing to his pupils. In such works we see a recognition of the importance and dignity of the pursuit of the knowledge of this world; we find, too, a manifestation of the revived interest in man as man. Sculpture no longer helps to immortalise only the lives and acts of princes or prelates, of knights and priests, it commemorates the services rendered by citizens to the State.

A work of this character, by an unknown artist, is to be seen in the corridor of the University at Siena. It is the monument of Niccolò Arringhieri. Above is the recumbent figure of the scholar. On the sarcophagus below is a relief in which Arringhieri is represented reading his lecture to a class of fourteen youths.

To the artists of the Siena-Pisan school succeeded the masters who carved the figures¹ which decorate the façade of the Duomo as well as the statues of the votive Chapel in the Piazza del Campo, Mariano d'Agnolo and Bartolommeo di Tommè, Lando di Stefano, and Giovanni di Cecco. The achievement of these masters was for the most part mediocre enough. Only here and there on the Cathedral

the *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, Serie Seconda, anno i. (1895), fasc. iv., Luglio-Agosto, pp. 268, 272; also Ciampi, *Notizie inedite della Sagrestia pistoiese*, p. 48. With Supino, I regard the monument of Ligo Amannati, Professor of Medicine, in the Pisan Campo Santo, as a work of Cellino di Nese.

¹ The half-figures of the Madonna, saints and prophets round the circular window are modern copies. The originals are in the Opera del Duomo.

façade do we find traces of anything like genius. Nevertheless, it was from this school, degenerate as it was, that there sprung one of the greatest of Italian sculptors, a pioneer of the Renaissance in his own art, a master who had a more potent influence upon succeeding artists than any other of his time save Masaccio, and Brunelleschi.

Jacopo was born, as Cornelius has shown, about the year 1374.¹ Of his early training as a sculptor, no particulars have come down to us. When he was but nineteen years of age he is believed to have sculptured an equestrian statue of Gian Tedesco. Immediately after executing this work he left his native town, it is said, for political reasons, and took up his residence at Florence. But we have no documentary mention of the master of an earlier date than 1401, when we find him amongst the six artists who took part in the competition for the doors of the Florentine Baptistery, in which contest Ghiberti was the victor.

The artistic career of Quercia, as we know it, was divided amongst three places—Lucca, Siena, and Bologna. At Lucca, in 1406,² he made the beautiful monument of Ilaria del Caretto, the young wife of Paolo Guinigi, the earliest as it is one of the loveliest of pure Renaissance works. Ilaria is represented lying at full length, her head resting on two cushions. At her feet is a dog, the symbol of faithfulness. Her beautiful hands are crossed below her breast. Her robe, lying in long, heavy folds, suggests rather than reveals the rigid form of Guinigi's bride. The artist shows throughout a masterly

¹ Cornelius, *Jacopo della Quercia*, Halle, 1896, p. 10.

² Ridolfi, *L'Arte in Lucca studiata nella sua Cattedrale*. Cornelius, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 20.



TOMB OF ILARIA DEL CARETTO, IN THE CATHEDRAL, LUCCA (Jacopo Della Quercia).
[*Atinari.*
[To face p. 314.

reticence. It seems that in the presence of so great a sorrow he became more subdued, more restrained than was his wont. Although, in this figure, we see traces here and there of Gothic inspiration, in its breadth, its simplicity, its calm dignity, this figure is altogether Greek.

On the sarcophagus on which Ilaria lies, the artist allows himself greater freedom. It is adorned with naked cherubs holding garlands. This decorative *motif*, which Jacopo took directly from the art of Rome, was one of the many classical forms introduced by him into Italian sculpture, a *motif* which Donatello and Michelozzo afterwards used to decorate their canopies.

A statue closely related to Quercia's effigy of Ilaria, though very inferior to it, is the *Madonna of Ferrara*. It is characterised by the same restraint, the same simplicity, the same absence of expressiveness that we find in the master's earliest work. There are, as M. Reymond has urged, points of close similarity in the design of the two figures.¹

The next great work that Quercia took in hand was the Fonte Gaja of his native town. The commission for this fountain was given in 1408. But eight years afterwards it cannot have been very far advanced towards completion, for in 1416 the artist presented a fresh design for the consideration of the Government. In the meantime Quercia had undertaken new and important commissions at Lucca, where he still resided. In or about the year 1417, he executed the retable of San Frediano, the predella of which he carved nine years

¹ Cornelius (*op. cit.*, pp. 22, 23) argues that the *Madonna of Ferrara* is by Jacopo della Quercia. As usual, Cornelius writes with knowledge and good sense, but, upon this question, his arguments do not convince me.

later. This, of all the works of this great sculptor of the transition, is that which is most Gothic in character. In it we see that Northern art had not yet lost its hold upon him. The Virgin and the two saints on either side of her are placed under Gothic arches. In the drapery, too, of the figures, are many evidences of Gothic influence. But even here, the new classical movement betrays itself. In the heads of the Virgin and St Sigismund, we find manifestations of the influence of Roman art, of the return to antiquity, just as in the attitude of the Mother and Child we see a new human touch.

The authorities at Siena became impatient with Jacopo's procrastination. They endeavoured, and with success, to get the artist to fix an exact date for the completion of their fountain. At last, in 1419, the new Fonte Gaja was finished.

The fountain is a large rectangular basin the shape of a half square, enclosed on one of its long sides and on the two short sides by a low wall, which, on its interior face, is covered with sculptured ornament. The chief features of the decoration are¹ nine sculptured figures placed in niches, representing the Madonna and Child and eight Virtues, and two bas-reliefs, one on each of the short sides of the fountain, the subjects of which are The Creation of Adam and The Expulsion from Paradise.

Enough of the original work remains to enable us to form some distinct conception of it. Both as a whole and in detail it is of strikingly original design. Every

¹ The remains of Jacopo della Quercia's fountain were removed some forty years ago to the *Opera del Duomo*. A copy, by Sarrocchi, of the original work was put in their place.



THE FONTE GAJA, IN THE PIAZZA DEL CAMPO SIENA (Jacopo Della Quercia).
[*Atinari.*
[To face p. 316.

line of these crumbling figures suggests force, energy. It seems impossible to destroy the evidence of a great sculptor's power unless you grind his work to powder. Just as in certain fragments of Greek sculpture the discerning eye at once sees the mark of the master hand, so through some of the most ruined fragments of the Fonte Gaja, a great genius speaks to us. His draperies are heavy, but they never leave us in doubt as to whether there is a real human form underneath. His folds are complicated, but never confused. The artist always had his mind fully made up, both as to what he felt and saw and as to how he proposed to express it. In all his work we find the expression of a virile genius.

It was whilst Jacopo della Quercia was actively engaged upon the Fonte Gaja—probably in the year 1416—that he received the commission to make a font for the Baptistery of San Giovanni. This font, again, has all the characteristics of a work of a period of transition. It is hexagonal in form, and rests on a gradine of a similar shape. On each of the six sides are reliefs. At the corner between the reliefs are small well-executed bronze figures under Gothic canopies. In the centre of the font rises up a group of columns, upon which rests a purely classical tabernacle, also hexagonal in shape, surmounted by a figure of St John the Baptist. Of the reliefs of the font, two of them, the *Baptism of Christ*, and *St John Baptist led to Prison*, are by Ghiberti; one, the *Herod's Feast*, is by Donatello, who also moulded *Faith* and *Hope*, two of the bronze figures which stand at the corner of the hexagon; whilst two reliefs, the *Birth of the Forerunner* and the *Preaching of St John Baptist*, are by two Sienese sculptors, Turino di Sano and Giovanni his son. By the same

artists are some of the other smaller decorations of the font. Only one of the reliefs, the *Angel appearing to Zacharias in the Temple*, is by Quercia himself.

This font is, as I have said, a work of a period of transition. But when the artist had finished it, the transition was almost complete. Jacopo della Quercia never reverted to Gothic forms. Here, as in the monument of Ilaria del Carretto, and in a less degree in the Fonte Gaja, he reveals himself as a neo-classical innovator. He ranges himself side by side with Michelozzo, to whom in his earlier days he had pointed the way.

Jacopo's masterpiece was the central portal of San Petronio at Bologna. In the *Madonna* above the doorway, as in the reliefs on either side of it, he shows himself to be one of the greatest sculptors of all time. In the *Expulsion from Paradise*, the *Adam and Eve in the Garden*, and the *Offering of Isaac*, we see Michelangelo's master and forerunner.

Quercia was pre-eminently an artist's artist. Throughout the ages since he passed away, sculptors and painters have gone to school to him at Bologna. In the history of art, the doorway of San Petronio occupies a position only less important than the pulpit of the Pisan Baptistery and the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel. Raphael, and Leonardo, and the titanic master of the Sistine submitted to the teaching of the Sienese. Weaker men, from Sodoma to Burne-Jones,¹ have borrowed his motifs and emasculated them, thus

¹ In William Morris' *A Dream of John Ball* (Reeves & Turner, 196 Strand, 1888) is an illustration by Sir E. Burne-Jones, bearing for a title the verse—

“ When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman ? ”

This drawing is very obviously inspired by Jacopo's relief, the *Toiling of Adam and Eve*.



[*Alinari.*

THE FONT IN THE CHURCH OF SAN GIOVANNI, SIENA (Jacopo Della Quercia).

[*To face p. 318.*



HEROD'S FEAST.

[Alinari.]

A relief on the Font of the Church of S. Giovanni, Siena (Donatello).

[To face p. 318.]

offering Quercia the sometimes doubtful compliment of imitation.

Owing to the labours of scholars like Cornelius, Quercia is coming to his own again. His name is now no longer cherished only by those who have made Italian sculpture a special subject of study. All who are intelligently interested in the history of Italian art are beginning to realise the importance of his achievement, and to recognise that he played the part of a pioneer both in the return to antiquity and in the return to nature.

Quercia was the first sculptor of the Renaissance who re-introduced into Italian art decorative *motifs* of which the beautifully modelled bodies of nude children were the constituent notes. In this innovation he was closely followed by Donatello and Michelozzo. He was the first, too, to employ certain other elements of classical design that had, for a time, been lost to art. In his reliefs, too, he has more of the universality, the dignity of antique art than any of his contemporaries. Their style is as far as possible removed from the somewhat feminine picturesqueness of Ghiberti. He played a no less important part in the return to nature. In my *Fra Angelico*, I have traced the growth of the maternal idea in the works of Quercia. I have shown how in his *Madonnas* we find an ever-increasing human quality, which does not in any way detract from their beauty and sacredness. As Jacopo advanced in years, the Madonna became more and more to him a symbol of maternity, until at Bologna we see one of the sweetest, the most poignantly pathetic presentations of childhood and motherhood that has yet been given to the world.

In art, as in other departments of human life, there is no such thing as spontaneous generation. In art, too, as we find nothing not-begotten, so we find nothing not-begetting—no art, however bad or feeble, that has not its influence. But, as regards his origin, Jacopo della Quercia comes as near as possible to the idea of an artistic Melchizedek. At first sight it seems as if Quercia had no artistic parents, and that in his own city his descendants were few and weak. A fuller knowledge of art-history somewhat modifies this impression. As we scan the façade of the Sienese Duomo, we realise that Quercia's art if reared in Florence, was born in Siena. In the work of the artists who carved the *Madonna of San Martino* and other wooden statues, we recognise pupils who had some spark of their master's genius.¹ In the sculpture of Giovanni di Stefano and Neroccio di Bartolommeo, we see here and there evidences of an intelligent following of Quercia. But, nevertheless, after the most diligent research, Jacopo still remains a mysterious solitary personality. The sculptor, who in 1406 designed the sarcophagus of Ilaria del Caretto, and who, twenty years later, with the picturesque illustrators of Florence all around him, carved the reliefs of San Petronio, must always be regarded as one of the most strikingly original artists that the world has seen.

With one exception, Quercia was the last sculptor of the highest rank that Siena gave birth to. After him we have the hard, heavy, graceless style of Vecchietta, who seems to have been enamoured of the faults rather

¹ Quercia's favourite pupil, Pietro del Minella, and Pietro's brothers, Antonio and Giovanni, were wood-carvers. It was these artists, I believe, who made the wooden statues of the Quattrocento that are to be found in the church of S. Martino at Siena.



THE BRONZE TABERNACLE ON THE HIGH ALTAR OF THE CATHEDRAL, SIENA
(VECCHIETTA).

[Alinari.]

[To face p. 320.]

than the virtues of Donatello; the decadent classicalism of Federighi, a sculptor of the later Roman empire re-incarnated; and the somewhat uninspired academic achievement of Cozzarelli. Marrina was the only really great master of the plastic art Siena produced in the last century of her existence as an independent State.

I can only speak briefly here of these later sculptors of Siena. Lorenzo di Pietro, called Vecchietta (1402-1480), goldsmith, painter, sculptor, military engineer, left behind him an artistic achievement, considerable in quantity, but for the most part mediocre in quality. His best works in sculpture are the bronze tabernacle, cast in 1472 for the Church of the Hospital of S. Maria della Scala, which Pandolfo Petrucci caused to be removed to the Duomo, and his bronze statue, the *Risen Christ*, which now stands above the high altar of the Hospital Church. In the figures he carved for the Loggia dei Nobili we see Vecchietta at his worst. He was probably the master of Francesco di Giorgio, whose performances in sculpture are by far the least important part of his work as an artist.

Of Federighi's¹ achievement as an architect I have already spoken. As a sculptor he was, as I have said, an uncompromising imitator of the art of the later Roman empire. So close was his imitation that, for centuries, at least one of his pieces was regarded as a genuine antique. His most meritorious works in sculpture are to be found in the Cathedral of Siena. In the baptismal font in the chapel of S. Giovanni Battista, in the pedestal of one of the pillars that flank the entrance to the said chapel, and in the holy water fonts at the west end of the nave—in one of which he has

¹ Federighi was born about 1415, and died about 1490.

incorporated a piece of ancient sculpture¹—he best displays his gifts as a plastic artist. His statues on the façade of the Loggia dei Nobili—the effigies of S. Vittorio, S. Ansano, and S. Savino—and the reliefs on the upper part of one of the stone seats under the same loggia are not so satisfactory. The figures in these works are draped, and the drapery is heavy and confused. Enough of his achievement remains to show us that he would have done better had he confined himself, in figure sculpture, to the rendering of the nude. He was not lacking in a sense of material significance, nor in the power of expressing it. In a gross, realistic way he might, under other conditions, have achieved considerable success, and have become the Signorelli of sculpture. But living in a provincial town—a town, too, that, in consequence of decreasing trade, was ever growing poorer—he was not able to follow the true bent of his genius. Although his abilities were recognised in a measure, by his fellow-countrymen, their patronage did not enable him to do the work that he liked. He spent his strength in a great variety of public undertakings, and died at last, a poor man. He was compelled, too, to accept the principalship of the school of sculpture of the Opera del Duomo, and to give to teaching the time and energy that he might have devoted to developing his own powers, and to producing important original work.

Neroccio di Bartolommeo's best work was done as a painter. His wooden statue of S. Catherine of Siena in Fontebranda, his monument to the Bishop Tommaso

¹ Rossi, *L'Arte Senese nel Quattrocento, Conferenze della Commissione Senese di Storia Patria, Nuova Serie*, Siena, 1899, p. 38, note. Rossi states that Lisini has found a document which proves that the font on the south side of nave has for a base a piece of classical sculpture.



[Alinari.
HOLY WATER BASIN IN THE CATHEDRAL, SIENA (ANTONIO FEDERIGHI).

[To face p. 322.

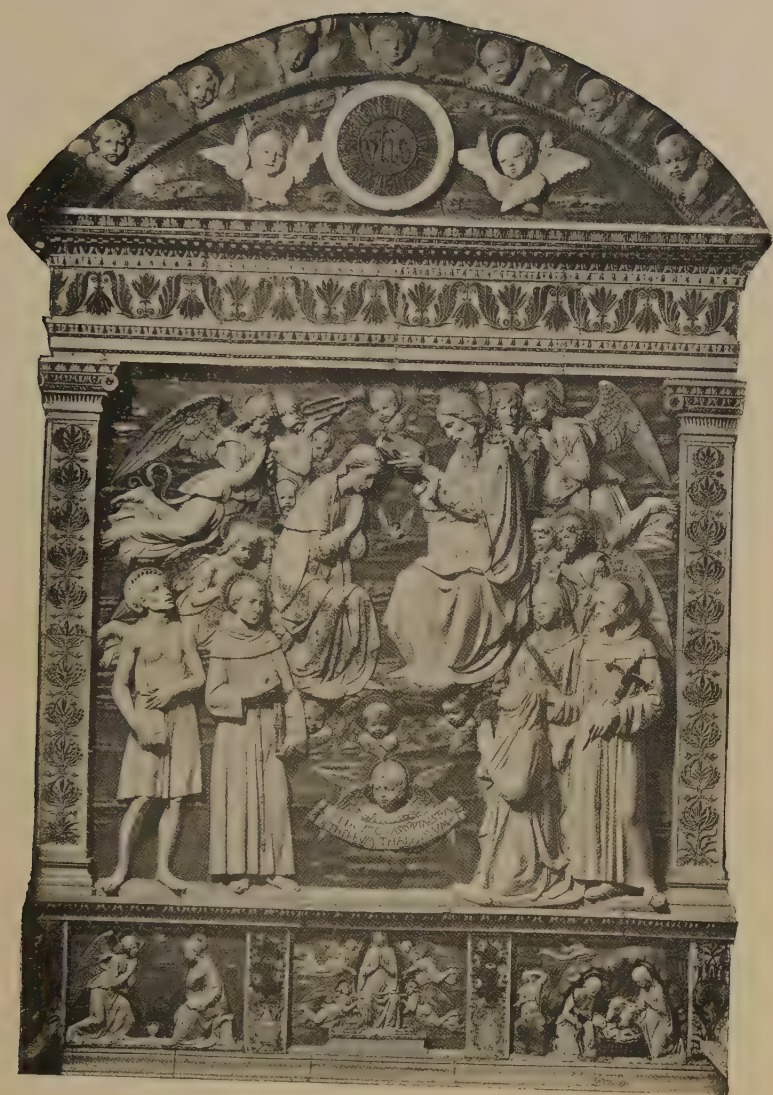
Piccolomini, above the door of the Campanile in the Duomo, and his statue of S. Catherine of Alexandria in the chapel of S. Giovanni Battista, reveal but dimly and fitfully the exquisite sense of beauty of line that we find manifested in his pictures. Nevertheless as a sculptor Neroccio is interesting; for he is the only Sienese artist of his time, save Pietro del Mindla and his brothers, who closely imitated Quercia. Federighi was an artist by himself: Vecchietta, Cozzarelli and Urbano da Cortona followed Donatello; but Neroccio, in sculpture as in painting, was pronouncedly Sienese. His S. Catherine of Alexandria is a statue of the school of Quercia. In the pose of the figure, in the designing of the drapery, and especially in the folds just above and below the girdle, can be traced the influence of the great master.

Urbano da Cortona began his artistic career as a pupil of Donatello, and worked under him when the great Florentine was engaged upon the altar of Padua Cathedral. But, coming to Siena as a very young man, he affiliated himself to the school of Siena, and passed almost all of the remaining years of his life in the town of his adoption. His bas-reliefs in the Duomo, and the wolf he modelled to stand on the pedestal in front of the Palazzo della Signoria, do not reveal any traces of genius. Urbano is a man of one work—the Felici Monument in San Francesco. This is one of those cases, not so uncommon in the history of poetry as in the history of other arts, where a quite mediocre artist succeeded in producing one masterpiece. In the recumbent figure of Cristoforo Felici, as in the decorative framework of the monument, we see everywhere evidence of Urbano's happy following of his great

master. The two *angioletti* with the wreaths between them were suggested, no doubt, by Donatello's tomb of Giovanni de' Medici in the sacristy of S. Lorenzo at Florence. The three panels behind the figure of Felici were taken from the Paduan altar-piece.

A more prolific sculptor was Giacomo Cozzarelli. Amongst the works in Siena that have been assigned with reason to this artist are a terra-cotta statue of St Sigismund in S. Maria del Carmine, a Madonna in relief in the cloister of San Francesco, the monument of Giovanni Battista Tondi in the entrance hall of the Hospital, a wooden statue of Niccolò da Tolentino in S. Agostino, the wooden figure of S. Vincent Ferrers in San Spirito, a bust of St Catherine in the Via Benincasa, a kneeling figure of St John the Evangelist, in terra-cotta, in the Opera del Duomo, the beautiful bronze ornaments on the façade of the Palazzo del Magnifico, and a Pietà in terra-cotta in the sacristy of the church of the Osservanza. Cozzarelli expressed himself in many different mediums, and gave the world a good deal of pleasant work, satisfactory in technique, but never consummate. Occasionally in his figures we see a tender *intimité*, an individuality of expression that suggests the influence of Andrea della Robbia. He is a good example of a class of artists not unknown in our own country, and common enough in Germany. Cozzarelli is the typical clever professor: he was the versatile head-master of a school of art.

A contemporary of Cozzarelli was Giovanni di Stefano, son of the painter Sassetta. Giovanni, it will be remembered, designed the chapel of S. Giovanni Battista, in the Duomo. His most important works as a sculptor now extant, are the statue of S. Ansano,



ALTAR-PIECE IN THE CHURCH OF THE CONVENT OF THE OSSERVANZA,
 SIENA (Andrea della Robbia).

[Alinari.]

[To face p. 324.]

which he chiselled for his new Baptistry, and two bronze angels, which he made for the high altar of the Cathedral. The representation of the Sienese saint is a fine statue, and takes rank with Urbano da Cortona's monument of Cristoforo Felici as one of the few really important works in sculpture produced in Siena in the latter half of the Quattrocento. But Giovanni di Stefano's greatest title to honour is that he was the master of Lorenzo di Mariano, known as Marrina, one of the greatest sculptors of his age.

Lorenzo was the son of a goldsmith of Siena. He first saw the light in 1476. The future master received his training in the school of sculpture of the Opera del Duomo, of which school Giovanni di Stefano was then master. At the age of thirty, Marrina himself became *capomaestro* of the Opera. Previous to this, he had gained the patronage of the Piccolomini. In 1504, they had commissioned him to decorate one of the chapels of their family in S. Francesco. For this chapel, Marrina carved an altar: he also executed *graffiti* for the pavement, the subjects of which were The Four Cardinal Virtues—Justice, Temperance, Prudence, and Fortitude.¹ Four years later he made the capitals of the columns of the courtyard of the Piccolomini Palace and other sculptured ornaments for that building. At the order, too, of the Piccolomini family, he executed the portal of the Library of the Duomo. In 1517, he achieved his masterpiece—the reredos of the church of Fontegiusta. The beautiful Marsili reredos in S. Martino, he chiselled in 1522. To the same period belongs the sculptured framework

¹ Toti, *La chiesa di S. Francesco ed i Piccolomini*; in the *Bull. Sen. di Stor. Patria*, anno i., f. i.-ii., p. 92.

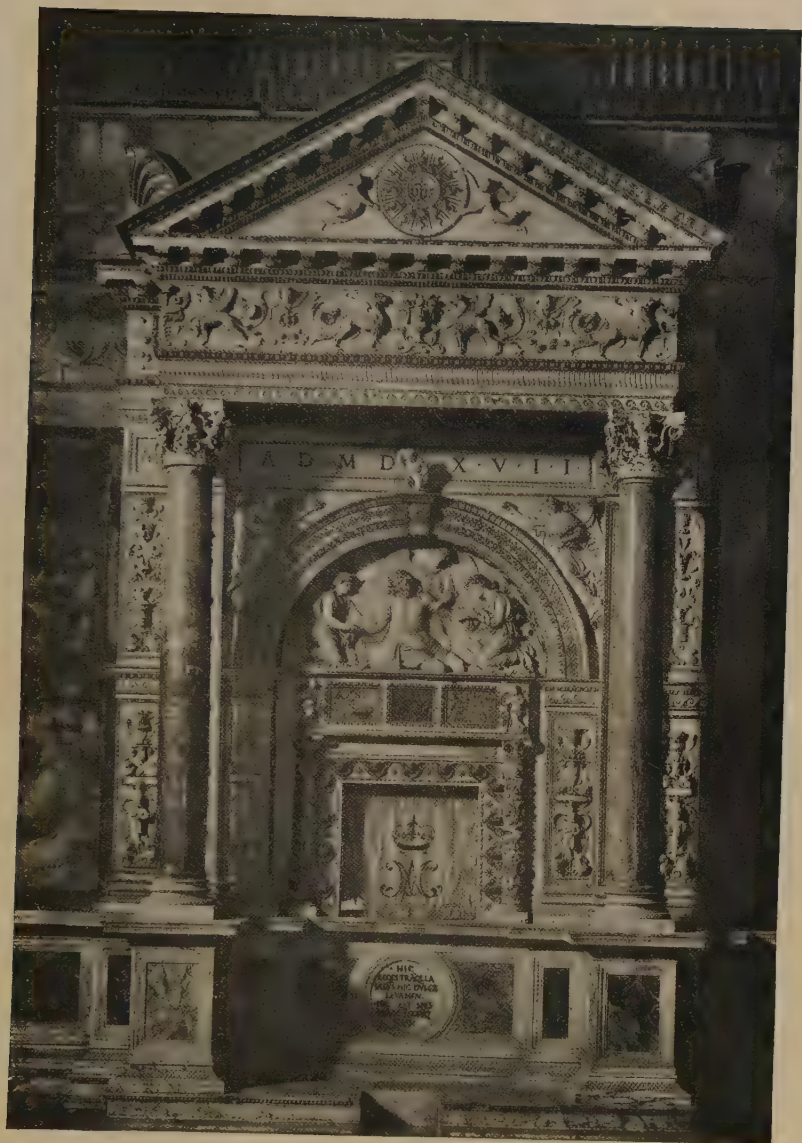
of another altar in the convent of S. Girolamo. Marrina worked in terra-cotta as well as in marble. He made an *Annunciation* in terra-cotta for the Convento del Paradiso. His last known work was the marble seat which still stands on the left side of the Loggia dei Nobili, in which he was assisted by Michele Cioli, and which was finished by another hand.¹ Marrina died in 1534.

Lorenzo di Mariano's greatest work was the altar in the church of Fontegiusta. In a beautifully decorated arch above the altar is a bas-relief representing Christ rising from the Sepulchre. Jesus is just waking from His death-sleep. Three angels support Him. Beautifully conceived and beautifully executed, they suggest the influence of Luca della Robbia. But in Marrina's work is revealed even a keener, subtler sense of form than the Florentine possessed.

This relief is surrounded by a sumptuous architectural framework, in which Marrina's consummate powers as a decorator find full scope. In the pilasters with their charming arabesques; in the capital, exquisitely adorned with *putti* and griffins in high relief; in the angels in the spandrels of the arch, we see the handiwork of a consummate master of sculptured ornament. With good reason does Perkins speak of this altar as "one of the best examples of Renaissance work in Italy." Almost as masterly a decoration is the portal of the Piccolomini Library. In it we see manifested the same exuberant artistic imagination, the same fine gift of design, the same exquisite technique.

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Carte di Convento del Paradiso*, Reg. B. xxxii., c. 161, 178.

² Milanesi, *Documenti*, vol. iii., pp. 136-137.



[Alinari.
 THE HIGH ALTAR IN THE CHURCH OF FONTEGIUSTA, SIENA (Marrina).
 [To face p. 326.



DETAIL FROM THE HIGH ALTAR IN THE CHURCH OF FONTEGIUSTA (Marina).

Notwithstanding Perkins' eulogy, Marrina still remains one of the unappreciated geniuses of the Renaissance. In the most recent histories of Italian sculpture he receives only brief mention, and to many art-critics and connoisseurs he is a mere name. Nevertheless there is no sculptor of the Cinquecento who is more modern in feeling, none whose decorative work better repays study. Lorenzo, however, is not without his little court of ardent admirers. On many a spring and autumn morning there may be seen in Fontegiusta, or in S. Martino, some travelling art-student eagerly taking notes of his designs. Even to-day his influence is wider than men know; for Marrina is a good artist to steal from. It is safe to prophesy that before the present renaissance of decoration has progressed much further, it will be wider still.

Free Siena produced no other sculptor of any importance after Marrina. The history of Sienese sculpture ends with him, and, like the story of the State itself, it ends gloriously.

CHAPTER XVIII

SIENESE PAINTING

I.—*Early Sienese Masters*

PAINTING was pre-eminently the art of the early Sienese. In this art Siena expressed herself more completely than in any other medium. And that expression was most consummate just when her golden age was quickly waning, to close in one sudden, overwhelming catastrophe of misery and death.

The Sienese is the first-born of the great Italian schools of painting. Its earliest known works date from the first quarter of the thirteenth century, and throughout that age it retained its pre-eminence. If, too, any criterion of the greatness of a school is to be found in the number of distinguished masters it produced, the school of Siena also stood higher than any other in the earlier half of the fourteenth century. For whilst in that age Florence produced but one great master, Giotto, there grew up in Siena four, if not five, artists of the first rank, together with a great company of painters—Berna, Luca di Tommè, Giacomo di Mino, and the rest—whose achievement is at least equal in quality to that of the Gaddi and their followers.

There were two schools of art in Central Italy in the thirteenth century. There was the old Italian

school to which belonged Giunta Pisano, Margaritone of Arezzo, and the unknown painters who frescoed the right transept of the Upper Church at Assisi. There was secondly, the neo-Byzantine school, whose masters were the artistic children of the miniature painters of the Byzantine proto-Renaissance. Both these schools were represented in Siena.

Of the first school but little need be said. Its works, barbarous, hideous, degenerate, only show here and there the slightest trace of later Byzantine influence. Some of them are to be seen side by side with the works of the neo-Byzantine painters, in the Siena Gallery. Its chief merit is that its masters kept alive the art of fresco-painting, when painting in books or on panels was the more popular art, and when mosaic alone was used by better-endowed artists for the decoration of great wall spaces.

The neo-Byzantine school of Tuscany had its branches at Pisa, and at Florence, but its chief centre was Siena. It will therefore be necessary to discuss its origin and history at some length, if we are to understand, and enjoy intelligently, the works of the early Sienese masters who sprang from it.

The second golden age of Byzantine art began, as I have already said, towards the close of the ninth century, and ended with the fall of Constantinople in 1204. The predominate art of Byzantium throughout this age was the art of miniature painting. The greatest artists of the Empire were miniaturists. The mosaics of this age are merely enlarged miniatures.¹ We find, in fact, in all the best late Byzantine decoration in colour, of whatever class, the same qualities,

¹ Kondakoff, *Histoire de l'art Byzantine*, Paris, 1891, tom. ii. p. 11.

the qualities prized by consummate miniature painters. We find bright, harmonious colour, splendid material cunningly handled, and artistic use of conventional pattern. We find, above all else, an extreme niceness and refinement of technique, and the evidence of much care in the perfecting of detail. The general effect aimed at is that of a hieratic sumptuousness.

A large number of illuminated books of this period still remain to us; though they have been comparatively neglected by modern art critics, who, when they refer to them, mention as a rule one of two or three well-known designs which have been more or less imperfectly reproduced in some of the incomplete histories we possess of Byzantine painting. Connoisseurs flock to see the mosaics at Cefalù and Monreale, which are only good miniatures translated into mosaic, and spoilt in the translation, whilst the most consummate works of the Byzantine Proto-Renaissance remain neglected in their presses in Rome and Paris, in London and Vienna. It is by studying such works as the *Menologia* of the Vatican, the eleventh century *Life of the Virgin* (No. 1162) in the same library, and the Byzantine Gospels at Parma, at Paris, and in the Laurentian Library, that we come to realise how gradual and orderly was the process of evolution that resulted in the birth of the Sienese school of painting.

How was it, then, that an offshoot of the revived school of Byzantium came to be planted in Sienese soil? How was it that Siena became the headquarters of the new movement? There were many channels through which Byzantine influence flowed to the Tuscan town. In the first place, in the reign of

Frederick II, Ghibelline Siena was in frequent communication with that great centre of the art revival of the thirteenth century, the court of Sicily, where many Greek artists had found a home in the years that followed the capture of Constantinople. A representative of the Emperor frequently sojourned in Siena; and the Emperor himself held court in the neighbourhood of the city at the Castle of Orgia in 1226. Secondly, there was constant intercourse between Ghibelline Pisa and Ghibelline Siena. And Pisa was in constant communication with Byzantium and the East. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, her merchants had colonies in Asia Minor, in Greece, in Jerusalem, and in Constantinople itself. And in these days of her glory, ships were continually passing to and fro between the port of Pisa and the Orient. Just as traders brought from the island they called "Maiolicha" the lusted wares made by the Moors, so, no doubt, they bore with them from Greece and from Byzantium works of art, at once so consummate of their kind and so easy to carry as were the illuminated books of later Greek miniaturists. There is some ground, too, for the belief that a few Greek artists found their way to Pisa after the fall of Constantinople, and that a school of miniature painting was established there in the thirteenth century.

Nor had the Sieneſe only indirect communication with Byzantium. In the early half of the thirteenth century they began themſelves to trade with the Eaſt. Moreover, at leaſt one diſtinguiſhed emigrant from Greece, a nobleman, wealthy and powerful, came and ſettled in the neighbourhood of Siena. Malavolti tells us—and his aſſertions are proved to be true by con-

temporary documents—that Ranieri, a nobleman of the suite of the Emperor Peter de Courtenay, on being maltreated by Theodore of Durazzo, sold his possessions in the Eastern Empire, and, after buying four castles in the neighbourhood of Siena, sought and obtained citizenship. As a citizen of Siena, Ranieri da Traviale commended his castles to the Republic, when, on September 26, 1222, he left its territory to pay a visit to the East.¹

It is possible that Byzantine artists came to Siena in the train of Frederick or with his representatives. It is possible that they came to the city from Pisa. It is possible that they accompanied the great lord Ranieri da Traviale when he came from Greece to settle near Siena. At any rate, in the early half of the thirteenth century we find Byzantine artists, or painters who had been trained by Byzantines, at work in the Tuscan town; and a school then begins to grow up there, side by side with the old Italian school, which, at first, is entirely Byzantine in feeling and technique. Several churches around Siena were then adorned with Byzantine pictures, some of which have now found a home in the Gallery of that city.

The movement having once been started it was easy to produce works of so conventional a character without external help. The Sienese artists had, no doubt, books of miniatures which they copied. They had, too, in all probability, Byzantine manuals, of painting, like the *Hermeneia*, which not only gave them full instructions as to the preparation of colours,

¹ Malavolti, *ed. cit.*, Prima parte, lib. iv., p. 49^b. Arch di Stato, Siena, *Caleffo dell'Assunta*, September 26, 1222, C. 532^b.

varnishes and panels, but also information as to the traditional mode of representing Scriptural events and events in the life of the Virgin and the Saints.

We find then in Siena, pictures belonging to both the schools of that period. We find the rude paintings of the old Italian school, caricatures of the earlier Byzantine art. We find also neo-Byzantine paintings like the *St Peter Enthroned* in the Sienese Gallery¹ in which the forms and technique of the Eastern painters of the preceding age are closely imitated.

Amongst the artists of the new school was that Guido of Siena about whom controversy has been so active.² A *Madonna* by him, which was once in the Church of San Domenico at Siena, but now is in the Palazzo Pubblico, bears an inscription with the date 1221. Milanesi alleged that the inscription had been tampered with, and that the date which the picture originally bore was 1281. Professor Wyckhoff strenuously maintains that the inscription is genuine, and that Milanesi failed to prove his case. The Cavaliere Alessandro Lisini, the distinguished archivist of Siena, who is singularly free from that spirit of parochial patriotism which fills so many Italian historians and archæologists, has brought fresh arguments to support the contentions of Milanesi.³ But the question is really of very little importance in the history of art. As the

¹ Stanza I., No. 15.

² Guido was a common enough name in Siena. There is no reason for assuming as Milanesi does, that this Guido was identical with a Guido di Graziano, a painter, whose name appears in the Sienese archives in the latter part of the century.

³ In my opinion the arguments of Milanesi are singularly unconvincing. Signor Lisini's article deserves more serious attention, but is not sufficient to prove the falsification of the date. I have examined the picture carefully with a glass, and, though the figures of the date of the picture have been

faces and forms both of the mother and the infant have been entirely repainted, no conclusions can be drawn from this picture as to the character of Sienese painting in the early years of the thirteenth century.

Of the neo-Byzantine masters of Siena we find none that had any spark of genius. They were merely copyists, and not very brilliant copyists, of the later Byzantine miniatures. The artist who succeeded in doing all that the neo-Byzantine painters had been striving after, the artist for whom they had been preparing the way, was Duccio, the earliest of great Italian masters whose work is known to us. Duccio not only made the best possible use of all that his Byzantine and Tuscan-Byzantine masters had taught him, he was in part the offspring of another and a newer movement. Like his contemporary, Dante, he stood between the old world and the new, and was in a measure the representative of both.

Duccio was born about the year 1255. His father's name was Buoninsegna. In 1278, two years after the date Vasari gives as the year of Giotto's birth, he was already employed as a painter by the Commune to decorate some of the *cassoni* in which public documents were kept.¹ Like most of the great artists of Siena who followed him, Duccio was employed to decorate

retouched, I believe them to be the most genuine part of the picture. I have discussed this question fully in Appendix II.

See Milanese, *della Vera Età di Guido Pittore Senese*, in his volume *Sulla Storia dell' Arte Toscana*; also Milanese's edition of *Le Vite* of Vasari (Florence, Sansoni, 1878), vol. i., p. 264, n. 1; 472, n. 4, and p. 554, n. 3; also Wyckhoff's article, *Ueber die Zeit des Guido von Siena*, in *Mittheilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Innsbruck, 1895; also Signor Lisini's article, *Una interessante questione artistica*, in the *Misc. Stor. Sen.* for 1895, vol. iii., p. 10. Mrs Richter, in her *Siena* (Leipzig, Seeman, 1901, pp. 74, 75) has followed Lisini.

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Biccherna*, *Libro d'entrata e uscita*, ad annum, c. 34.

the book-covers of the Biccherna, the Exchequer of Siena. In the city archives there are records of no less than five commissions of this kind given to Duccio.¹ Of these *tavolette* only one unimportant example remains. It is of the year 1293, and is in the Industrial Museum at Berlin.

The artist was first engaged to adorn a book-cover for the State in 1285, in the same year that he was commissioned to paint a large *Madonna* for the Church of S. Maria Novella at Florence.² Nor was Duccio only employed as a painter by the Government. In 1295 he was consulted as to a suitable site for the new Fonte Nuova, a Gothic fountain which is still standing on the hillside near the Porta Ovile.³ Seven years later he was commissioned to paint a *Majestas* for the Public Palace.⁴

But although Duccio received a considerable amount of patronage from the Government he does not seem to have prospered. He was frequently condemned for debt and for other infractions of the law.⁵ He had little sympathy, too, with the popular party, for he refused to swear to the ordinances of the Captain of the People, and refused to follow that officer when

¹ These entries are to be found in the *Libri d'entrata e uscita* of the Biccherna for the years 1285, 1286, 1291-92, 1293-94. They are given in full in Lisini's article, *Notizie di Duccio pittore*, in the *Bull. Sen. di Stor. Patria* for 1898, fasc. i., pp. 20-51.

² Arch. Dipl. di Firenze, *Pergamene spettanti al Convento di S. Marco*. The document is printed in full in Milanese, *Documenti*, etc., vol. i., pp. 158-160.

³ The document is quoted in full in Lisini's article, *Notizie di Duccio pittore*, in the *Bull. Sen. di Stor. Patria*, 1898, fasc. i., p. 45.

⁴ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Biccherna, Libro d'entrata e uscita*, ad annum, c. 357.

⁵ These entries are to be found in the books of the Biccherna for the years 1295-1302. Duccio was heavily fined also for some undefined offence in 1280. See Lisini's article, *Notizie di Duccio pittore*, etc., pp. 46-48.

the citizen bands went forth upon an expedition against the feudal lords of the Maremma. Nevertheless his failings did not blind his fellow-citizens to his true greatness. Few artists have received more complete recognition from their fellow-citizens.

It was in 1308 that Duccio began his crowning achievement, the altar-piece of the Duomo. Three years later the great work was finished. On June 9, 1311, a public holiday was proclaimed in Siena. All the shops and offices were closed. The forest of towers in whose shadowy avenues the citizens had their homes, vibrated with the clangour of a hundred bells. The streets were filled with citizens in holiday garb. From palace windows and courtyards came the sounds of drums and trumpets and pipes. By order of the Bishop a procession was formed near the Porta a Stalloreggi. At the head of it was a great company of priests and friars. Behind them was borne the great altar-piece. There followed it the Priors of the Nine, all the chief officers of the Commune, and the principal men of the city, bearing candles in their hands; and behind them walked many women and children. Thus was the picture brought to the Duomo with great rejoicing. "And throughout that day," says the Sienese chronicler, "many prayers were said and much alms was given to the poor, the people praying God and His Mother our Advocate, to defend us in their infinite pity from every adversity and every ill, and to guard us from the attacks of traitors, as well as from the city's open foes."¹ This was the culminating point of Duccio's career. His

¹ *Cronaca d' anonima*, an early manuscript chronicle, of which there are copies in the Communal Library and in the Archivio di Stato at Siena. The chronicler's story is confirmed by contemporary documents. See Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Libro del Camarlingo del Commune*, June, 1311; c. 261.

greatness was recognised by all his fellow-citizens. His masterpiece had been placed in a position of highest honour, above the altar of the Cathedral of his native city. He owned his house in the Via di Stalloreggi, and probably other property. But even in the days of his glory he could not get out of his bad habit of running into debt, and the latest notice of him, found by Lisini, is of a debt contracted on June 8, 1313, a certain Ser Tommaso di Dino being his creditor. Six years later Duccio died.¹ His house in the Via di Stalloreggi, hard by the old gate, is still standing.

Duccio's earliest known work of importance was the altar-piece he painted for the Church of Santa Maria Novella. This picture I hold, with Dr Richter, to be identical with the Rucellai *Madonna* attributed by Vasari to Cimabue. In considering this question, I ask the reader to put on one side all preconceived notions based upon legends and traditions that cannot be traced back further than the beginning of the sixteenth century, and to consider dispassionately the evidence of style-criticism, and of documents. And, first of all, what does a careful examination of the picture itself tell us as to its *provenance*?

The present writer, going to Santa Maria Novella with an open mind, examined one day every inch of the picture with the aid of artificial light, and, whilst he cannot say with a distinguished critic that "it differs in nothing from the authenticated altar-piece of Duccio,"² he is now convinced that the differences are only such as one would expect to find in two works

¹ R. Davidsohn has proved that Duccio died on August 3, 1319. See *Repertorium für kunstwissenschaft*, vol. xxiii. (1900), fasc. iii., p. 313.

² Richter, *Lectures on the National Gallery*, London, Longmans, 1898, p. 6.

painted by the same artist at a distance of twenty-five years in a period of rapid development in the art of painting. In its forms, in its colour, in its technique, the Rucellai *Madonna* is entirely Sienese. Everywhere in it are to be found traces of the hand of the master of the *Majestas*. In the Madonna as elsewhere, Duccio, it is true, but reproduces, for the most part, the Byzantine type. The altar-piece at S. Maria Novella is an early work, and in the treatment of the drapery we do not find the same grace, the same freedom, the same knowledge of the human form that manifest themselves in Duccio's later masterpieces. Nevertheless the artist imparts to the figure of the Virgin a new vitality and a touch of maternalness. The right hand of the Madonna, with its somewhat shapeless metacarpus, its long fingers, and carefully-defined nails, resembles closely the hand of the Madonna, which is in a similar position, in the Siena altar-piece. In the representation of the Child we find more pronounced characteristics of Duccio. Duccio's representations of the Divine Infant are all his own. In them he owes little or nothing to his Byzantine predecessors. Only in the works of his imitators and followers can be found a type of baby resembling that he invented. Let us take the representation of the Child Jesus in a picture which is undoubtedly an early work of Duccio. I refer to the little *Madonna and Child* in the Siena Gallery (Stanza I., 20). If we put this little figure by the side of the infant of the Rucellai *Madonna*, we see at once that they are almost the same in pose and feature. We find in each the same shape of nose and mouth. In each the hair recedes far from the left temple. Especially marked, too, is the resemblance



THE RUCELLAI MADONNA, S. MARIA NOVELLA, FLORENCE. *[Alinari.]*
DUCCIO DI
BUONINSEGNA.

[To face p. 238.]

in the peculiar position the artist gives to the left leg of the child, and in the right hand, which has the two first fingers extended and the others closed, the thumb resting on the folded third finger.

Or take the figures of angels supporting the throne in the *Rucellai Madonna*. Here again we find a type created by Duccio. The treatment of the hair is entirely characteristic of the Sienese master. We find, too, types of countenance which are common in the works of Duccio. The second angel on the Madonna's left hand is reproduced in a similar position in the great *Majestas*. There is not a single authenticated Florentine picture in which we can find angels resembling these. Did space permit I could take each of the figures in the picture in turn and show that in every detail they bore the stamp of Duccio's art. In technique, too, the picture is entirely Sienese. Upon the evidence of style, then, I hold that this picture is by Duccio.

Documentary evidence also supports this conclusion. In the Florentine Archives there still remains a copy of the agreement which Duccio entered into, on April 15, 1285, to paint a large *Madonna* for the Confraternity of S. Maria, to be placed in their chapel at S. Maria Novella. The chapel which this Confraternity occupied in the year 1316 was the Chapel of St Gregory¹ which immediately adjoins the Rucellai Chapel. When the *Rucellai Madonna* appears in history in the sixteenth century, it hung on the wall just outside the Chapel of

¹ Arch. di Stato, Firenze, *Arch. di S. M. Novella, Uscite of the Compagnia di S. P. Marturi*, vol. i., ad annum. I am indebted to Mr Wood Brown for my knowledge of this document.

St Gregory. It is not difficult to account for its removal to this spot. In 1335, the Chapel of St Gregory had passed into the possession of the Bardi family. Probably at that time Duccio's *Madonna* was removed from the chapel by the confraternity to which it had formerly belonged. Wishing still to frequent that part of the church where they had been accustomed to pray, they arranged with the authorities that their great *Madonna* should be placed in as near a position as possible to its former resting-place, on the wall of the right transept, where Vasari found it.

Those who maintain that this picture is by Cimabue have no contemporary documents to show in support of their contention. Nor can they hope to convince those who disagree with them by arguments derived from style-criticism. For of Cenno di Pepi, called Cimabue, not one known painting remains; and it cannot be seriously contended that there is anything in Giotto's early works that favours the view that the painter of the Rucellai *Madonna* was the master of the great Florentine. The upholders of the traditional attribution of the picture have nothing to rely upon except the statements of notoriously inaccurate writers, written more than two centuries after it saw the light.¹

There are several good reasons for regarding as of little value Vasari's statements on such a question as this. First of all, his accounts of all the early Italian artists teem with inaccuracies, improbable anecdotes,

¹ Since writing the above I have seen Mr Roger Fry's interesting article on Giotto in the *Monthly Review* of December 1900. In it (p. 147) he mentions certain "peculiarities" of style in the Rucellai *Madonna* which are "not shared by Duccio." I can only say here that every one of these peculiarities is actually to be found in other early works of Duccio, and that they are the distinguishing marks of his first manner. I have discussed Mr Fry's arguments in Appendix III. of this book.

and stories which are proved to be inventions. Witness his biographies of Giotto and Duccio, of Agostino di Giovanni and Agnolo di Ventura. His life of Cimabue is no exception to this rule.

Again, it is no uncommon thing for an Italian art-critic or historian to assign to one of his fellow-countrymen a work executed in his native city by some long-dead foreign artist. Neapolitan writers of the sixteenth and succeeding centuries confidently assigned to legendary artists of their own race, the works executed in Naples by Sienese Trecentisti. Simone's great picture at San Lorenzo Maggiore and Tino da Camaino's masterpiece at S. Chiara, were acclaimed as the products of Neapolitan genius. In Florence, too, at the time of the Renaissance, some of the works of early Sienese sculptors were given to local artists of the fourteenth century. The same spirit of parochial patriotism that caused such attributions first to be made, and then to be accepted without question, in the sixteenth century, is now at work in the twentieth. The professor or director in any Italian city, who, at a public conference of his local Historical Society, sets out to prove that some work attributed to a foreign master is in reality by a native artist, is sure to receive abundant applause. Even this scientific age has seen some extraordinary attempts of this kind which independent art-critics, in part through want of special knowledge, in part through underrating the strength of patriotic feeling in Italy, have taken quite seriously.

The origin of the legend of the procession of the picture is easily explained. It is an instance of a very common phenomenon. The student of comparative

mythology, like the student of early fiction, knows that a striking story, true or imaginary, belonging to one race was often borrowed, altogether or in part, by some neighbouring people. The nation that stole it gave it in course of time a new setting, attached it to another place or object, and altered the names of the principal actors, whilst preserving intact the main incidents of the narrative. The story of the procession of Duccio's *Majestas* no doubt reached Florence, and was told and retold there. In course of time the name of the Sienese artist was forgotten, but Cimabue's name was kept fresh in men's minds by Dante's eulogy of him. Ultimately the name of the Florentine painter took the place of that of Duccio in the traditional narrative; and when, at the time of the Renaissance, the Rucellai *Madonna* was attributed to Cimabue, the transplanted story of the procession of the *Majestas* was naturally attached to that great picture. Cimabue may have been as important an artist as patriotic Dante held him to be. But modern criticism knows nothing about his artistic personality. It is true that Albertini and Vasari provided the master with a catalogue of works. But their lists simply consist of a heterogeneous collection of early pictures painted by many different hands. Cimabue now takes his place beside several other early Italian artists who had a considerable reputation in their own day, but of whom no authentic work remains.

I regard, then, the Rucellai *Madonna* as being Duccio's first important work, as it is in fact the first great masterpiece of modern Italian painting. Closely allied to it, but probably of a later date, is the small triptych at the Siena Gallery (Stanza I.,

35). This work has suffered great injury at the hands of time, but it has never been tampered with by a restorer. In the central panel is the Madonna with St Peter and St Paul on either side of her. Above is a representation of the Coronation of the Virgin. Below are eight saints in half-figure. On the movable doors are represented six scenes from the life of Christ, three on each side.

In this triptych we see more clearly than in any other work of Duccio the influence of the miniaturists from which the Sienese school sprang. We see the same refinement of technique, the same feeling for sumptuousness, the same scrupulosity in matters of detail. At the same time we find something that is wanting in the Byzantine miniatures. A new life inspires the old types, softening the awkwardness of their gestures, and humanising them. Something of Sienese grace and Sienese feeling begins to show itself, though the figures Duccio paints still preserve in a measure Byzantine dignity, Byzantine stiffness.

The newer elements in Duccio's art reveal themselves still more unmistakably in the little triptych in the National Gallery. Here the child plays with his mother's veil, whilst, holding her infant caressingly with both hands, she looks down at him, her face full of tenderness. When Duccio painted this work he had freed himself in no small measure from the trammels of Byzantine conventions. We do not find manifestations of maternal emotion, and of childlike playfulness so pronounced as these are in the whole range of early Byzantine painting. Nor, in fact, is there anything quite like them to be seen in Italian pictures until we arrive at the age of Fra Angelico and Jacopo della

Quercia. The only contemporary artists or artists of an earlier date, who thus emphasise the maternal idea, were the Gothic sculptors of France and their Italian imitators. Here, as elsewhere, it is obvious that Duccio was powerfully influenced by the fervid emotionalism of Giovanni Pisano, who was at work in Siena throughout the earlier part of Duccio's career; and it is to the influence of that sculptor that we owe the improvement that is to be noticed in Duccio's modelling of the human figure, as well as the Gothic *motifs* that are to be found in the drapery of the figures in all his later works.¹ In this same triptych in the National Gallery, traces of the influence of Gothic art are to be found in the drapery of the two figures of S. Domenico and S. Catherine of Alexandria.

We can trace and define clearly the effects of the two influences, the influence of the art of Byzantium and that of the Gothic art of France, in the *Madonna and Four Saints* in the Stanza dei Primitivi, in the Siena Gallery. In the figure of St Peter, the artist seems to have taken for his model either the representation of St Peter in an altar-piece formerly in the Church of S. Pietro in Banchi—a picture which is now to be found in the same Stanza dei Primitivi in the Gallery at Siena—or the miniature which the unknown painter of the altar-piece had copied. But how much more vitality there is in Duccio's representation of the saint than in the neo-Byzantine picture. By numberless changes, each of which is slight in itself, he has given the face a more natural expression, he has given relief to

¹ It is possible, too, that Duccio may have been brought under the direct influence of the Gothic art of the Île de France; for illuminated books and ivories had already found their way from Paris to Italy.

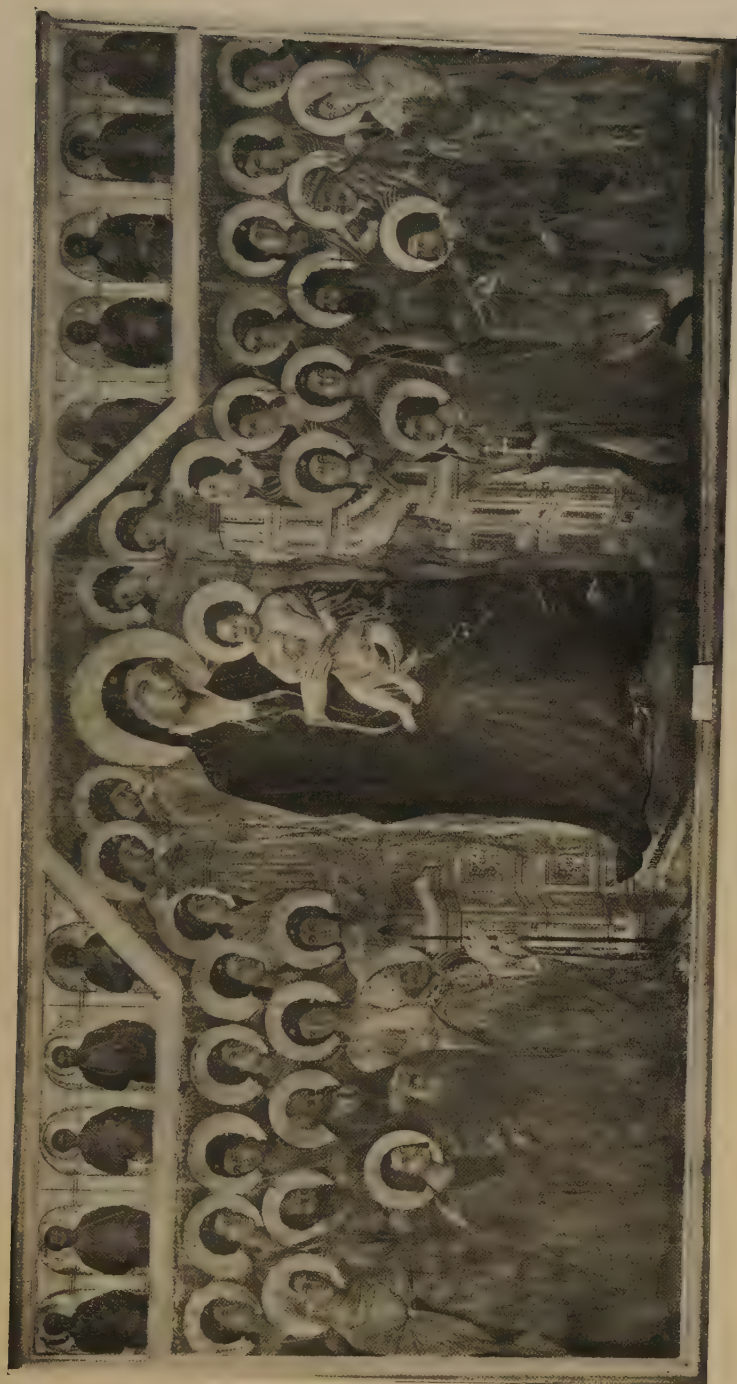
the folds of the drapery. The St Dominic in the same picture reveals still more clearly Gothic influences. Except in the exaggeration of the lines on the forehead and in certain points of technique, there is nothing Byzantine in this figure.

But it is necessary to study closely Duccio's masterpiece, his great *Majestas* now in the Opera del Duomo at Siena, as well as the predella pictures which once formed a part of it, if we would clearly understand the position that he occupied in the history of early Italian painting. This picture had originally a Gothic frame, and was surmounted by pinnacles and solid cusped arches. It adorned a double altar, like that in the Lower Church at Assisi. Both sides of the picture were painted. After its removal from its original position it was sawn through from top to bottom, and the back and front of the altar-piece are now placed side by side on the same wall. On that side of the picture that faced the west when it stood above the high altar of the Cathedral, is represented the Virgin surrounded by saints and angels. Above, in the solid arches between the pinnacles, were scenes representing events in the life of Mary. Below was a predella, which consisted of seven little pictures, each separated from its neighbour by a figure of a prophet. On the side of the altar-piece that faced the east were thirty-four little pictures, all representing scenes in the life of Christ. Below them was another predella, on which were also depicted subjects taken from the Gospels. Mr Benson's predella pictures, and the *Transfiguration* and the *Christ Healing the Blind Man*, in the National Gallery, formed a part of the two predelle. The *Annunciation* in our National collection has obviously been mutilated. It was one of the pictures

placed in the arches of the Gothic framework, of which there were probably eight on either side, two, one above the other, in the central arch, and one in each of the three arches on either side. We will examine the large composition, the *Madonna and Saints*, as well as a few of the smaller pictures, and endeavour to discover from them what were the chief qualities of the art of Duccio at the culminating point of his career, and what, too, were the artistic influences that manifested themselves in his later work.

In the great *Madonna* there is no trace of Byzantinism to be found in the Child. Duccio here gives us a somewhat different type of infant to that we find in his earlier works, but the one representation, like the other, is entirely original. Nothing like it is to be found in the art of his predecessors. The representation of the Divine Mother is indeed Byzantine in the general cast of her countenance. But to the face of the Madonna the artist again succeeds in imparting a more maternal expression than is to be found in any Byzantine representation of her; and in the drapery of the picture we find the influence of the new Gothic movement abundantly manifested. The Virgin's robe is arranged in simple folds; and though, through decay and ill-treatment, some of the *nuances* of modelling have disappeared, enough of the original painting remains to show that the artist had progressed considerably in the rendering of drapery, in the interval that had elapsed since he had finished the Rucellai *Madonna*.

But important as are the changes introduced by Duccio in the representation of the Mother and the Child, yet more significant are the evidences of a new movement in art that are to be found in certain of



THE MADONNA AND CHILD, ANGELS AND SAINTS.
In the Opera del Duomo, Siena (Duccio di Buoninsegna.)

[*Alinari.*

[*To face p. 346.*

the figures of saints who stand or kneel on one side or the other of the Madonna's throne. In the *St Peter*, the *St Paul*, the *St John Baptist*, we see the old types reproduced, but vitalised and humanised. It is in the *St Agnes* and the *St Catherine of Alexandria*, and in the figures of the city's four protectors, *S. Vittorino*, *S. Savino*, *S. Crescenzo*, and *S. Ansano*, that the movement, that had for its source of inspiration the Gothic art of France, most clearly manifests itself. The artist who painted the outer robe of the *St Agnes*, had something of the sense of plastic beauty that dwelt in the Pisani; and he who created the kneeling forms of Siena's patron saints was no mere slave of Byzantine convention. In no altar-piece of the Trecento do we find figures more nobly conceived, more beautifully modelled than these.

In the *Crucifixion* we see one of the most dramatic, the most impressive conceptions of the scene that is to be met with in the whole range of Italian art. The modelling of the figure of the Christ shows us that Duccio's rendering of the draped form is based upon a knowledge of the structure of the human body more accurate than that of Giotto.¹ The figures below the cross are well grouped. Here and there we find several Byzantine types, especially in the heads of old men; but the group of the three Marys is freshly conceived, and is full of deep feeling. In the simple massive folds of the drapery of the Mary who supports

¹ Let the reader who doubts this take photographs of Duccio's *Crucifixion* at Siena, and of the artist's other representation of the same event which is in the possession of Lord Crawford, and let him place them by the side of photographs of Giotto's *Martyrdom of St Peter*, and of the Florentine master's *Crucifixions* at Padua and Assisi. Then let him put out of his mind all that has been written recently about the two artists, and make a careful, independent comparison of the pictures.

the Virgin, we find further evidence of the influence of the Gothic sculptors. The colour of the whole composition is harmonious. The whole scene is finely realised; and in his rendering of it the artist succeeds in imparting to us the emotions with which the great world-tragedy inspired him.

Duccio's sympathy with the new movement in art is also revealed in the architectural backgrounds of the little pictures in Siena and London that formed a part of the great altar-piece. In several of them we see beautiful representations of Gothic buildings. Where, in any work of Duccio's contemporaries, where, in any picture painted in the hundred years that followed his death, do we find architecture so admirably drawn, so well proportioned to the figures of the composition as in his *Christ Healing the Blind Man*, in the National Gallery?¹ In this little picture Duccio introduces one of the Gothic palaces which in his day were rising up on all hands in Siena. Near one of the angles of the building are two beautiful ogival windows, each having two lights separated by a column. They resemble in form those on the then new Palazzo Squarcialupi,² a palace which Duccio must have passed continually on his way from his own house to the Cathedral. In the *Entry into Jerusalem*, in the Opera del Duomo at Siena, we also find reproductions of new architectural forms. Whilst in Mr Benson's *Temptation*, the artist's

¹ Dr Richter (*op. cit.*, p. 19) asserts that this picture has been "very much retouched." With much reluctance I find myself compelled to differ from so distinguished a critic of early Italian painting. The *Christ Healing the Blind Man* has been over-cleaned at some time or other, but it has suffered very little from retouching. I am pleased to know that Mrs Herringham, than whom no one in England has a more thorough knowledge of the theory and practice of tempera painting, concurs in this opinion.

² Now the Palazzo Grottanelli.

passion for Gothic architecture fantastically manifests itself in his representations of "the cities of the world."

But it is in Duccio's treatment of landscape that are to be found the most remarkable innovations. In the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, in the Opera del Duomo at Siena, we find him adopting a low horizon. In taking this course he was not only in advance of his own contemporaries, but of all other painters of the Trecento. Until the coming of Fra Angelico the cartographical method of representing landscape was still in vogue. In the details of Duccio's landscapes we see more evidences of independent observation of nature than in any other pictures of the time. His trees, as Woltmann has said, suggest something of the freedom of nature, and are less formal than those of Giotto. The animals he introduces into his *Nativity* at Berlin were studied from life.

In many of his pictures we see a curious blending of the results of Byzantine, Roman, and Gothic influences. Take for instance the *Annunciation* of the National Gallery. As in the architectural background of his picture, so in the figures, we find both classical and Gothic *motifs* side by side. The Virgin is a Roman woman, the treatment of her robe with its web of gold lines, is Byzantine, with a difference. And yet even in this figure, in the natural pose of the right arm and hand, and in the expression of the face, there are indications of the influence of Gothic art. But the form of the angel with its suggestion of rapid movement owes little to Byzantium. In the outstretched arm, as in the romantic treatment of the hair, we see marked evidences of Gothic inspiration. The same confluence of two artistic movements is to

be seen in the *Christ Healing the Blind Man*, to which I have just alluded. In painting the figure of the subject of the miracle, Duccio disregarded the instructions of the Byzantine manuals, and the example of the early miniaturists. He does not depict the blind man as kneeling to be healed. He gives us two full-length representations of a blind beggar of his own day. But in the type and attitude of the figure of the Christ, and in the grouping and the physiognomies of the disciples who follow Him, Byzantine influences are plainly seen.

It may be urged against Duccio that he borrows from Byzantine painters two of the most pronounced manifestations of decadence to be found in their works. Like them he crowds his pictures with representations of old men. Like them he covers the garments of some of the personages he creates with a decorative web of gold lines. But the first of these charges, though not lacking foundation, does not apply to his best work. How much youth and beauty there is in the central composition of the great *Majestas*! What vigour there is in the figure of the centurion in Lord Crawford's *Crucifixion*! And the second charge is only superficially true. With Duccio the gold lines are rarely mere decorative calligraphy; they emphasise, as a rule, real folds in the garment they adorn. Even in his drawings of these lines there is some evidence of independent observation. In the representation of Christ in the *Noli me Tangere* and in the *Christ in Hades*, they help us to realise the structure of the figure.

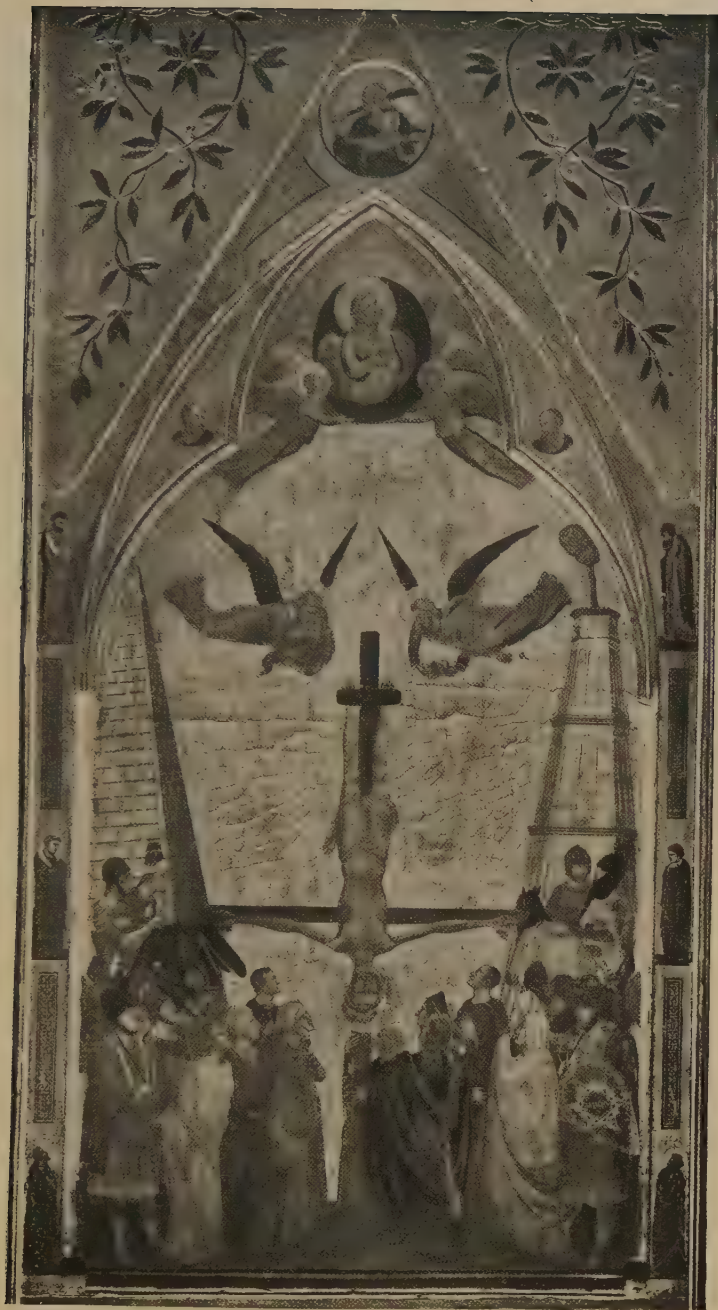
It has also been charged against Duccio that the gestures of the arms "of his figures show the per-



THE CRUCIFIXION.

[Alinari.]

Part of the great altar-piece in the Opera del Duomo (Duccio di Buoninsegna).
[To face p. 350.]



THE CRUCIFIXION OF ST PETER.

Part of a triptych at the Vatican (Giotto). [To face p. 350.]

functory and rhetorical manner of the old tradition." But this accusation, too, though not devoid of truth, is by no means universally true. Take the *Entry into Jerusalem*, the picture that Mr Roger Fry was describing when he made this statement.¹ What could be more natural than the gestures of the arms of the children who look over the garden wall at the joyful procession? Their attitudes are all the results of "fresh observation," and are "expressive of states of feeling." How natural, too, is the pose of arm and hand in all the figures in the *Judas bargaining with the Jews*, a picture original in design and full of evidences of dramatic power.

In one great artistic quality, in the power of imparting relief to his figures, Duccio, it is true, was much inferior to one of his younger contemporaries, to Giotto. He had considerable knowledge of the structure of the human body, but he had not Giotto's consummate power of selecting just the lines, the convexities and concavities, in a face or in drapery, which when rendered in paint convey to us better than any others, a sense of its material reality. And yet Duccio had an adequate sense of form; and in other great qualities of decoration he is the Florentine's superior. He is much greater as a colourist. He has a finer technique in tempera painting. He can give more poignant expression to deep emotion. He has a more subtle sense of beauty. He is not inferior to Giotto as a master of lineal design. He shows a more accurate observation of nature in his drawing of the nude, as in his representations of rocks and of trees. In a measure he anticipates the discoveries of the quattrocentists in

¹ Fry, *Art before Giotto*; in the *Monthly Review* of October 1900, p. 150.

his treatment of landscape. Why is it, then, that the world knows so little of Duccio? Why is his name so rarely on men's lips? The answer is not far to seek.

Firstly, the really independent critics of painting are very few in number. The majority of cultured people, consciously or unconsciously, borrow their opinions of an artist's achievement from others. Now, whilst Florence has had the ear of the civilised world, from the days of Dante to the age of Vasari, and from the age of Vasari to our own time, there has been no Sienese historian or critic who has caught the ear of Europe. Modern critics have taken, for the most part, the Florentine artists at their own countrymen's valuation, and have neglected the works of Duccio. Ruskin, for example, expended his beautiful gift of style in praising some inferior pictures of Giotto's school in terms which should only have been reserved for masterpieces. Florence has stolen for her own sons some of the credit that belonged to Siena, and under the spell of her literary charm, many modern critics have acquiesced in the theft. Vasari post-dated Duccio's career, and placed his biography of the Sienese after that of Agnolo Gaddi, after that of Orcagna, making him a contemporary of the later Giottesques. He robbed Duccio of one of his greatest works, giving it to Cimabue; and to the same Florentine master he ascribed some of the best works of Duccio's school. He said that the Sienese master's greatest followers were disciples of Giotto. Only in the last ten years have these injustices been fully and finally exposed. It is not to be wondered at that the public have not yet realised Duccio's position in the history of painting.

Again, Duccio's achievement is small in quantity.

For a long period, too, his only known works of importance remained half hidden in Siena. Notable paintings by Giotto, on the other hand, are to be seen in Padua, in Assisi, in Rome, in Florence. And until lately the foreign travellers that found their way to Florence were ten times greater in number than those who visited Siena.

Finally, when the work of reparation is complete, Duccio's just fame can never rival that of Giotto, for the simple reason that Duccio was not a fresco-painter, that he never successfully accomplished vast schemes of monumental decoration. But in his own sphere, in tempera painting, Duccio had no superior amongst his contemporaries. And when we contemplate some of the figures of saints in his great *Majestas* we cannot but be filled with regret that he did not apply himself to that branch of the painter's art which Michael Angelo rightly considered to be the nobler.

Of Duccio's followers, Ugolino da Siena and Segna di Buonaventura, but little must be said here. Vasari having given the Rucellai *Madonna* to Cimabue, is compelled to say, of course, that Ugolino followed the manner of that master, when in truth Ugolino is entirely Sienese in style as in feeling. The study of his *Betrayal* and his *Procession to Calvary*, in the National Gallery, his *Coronation of the Virgin*, in the Academy at Florence, and of other works by him in private collections, convinces me that he was a faithful follower of Duccio. Segna, too, imitated the great founder of the Sienese school; but in his pictures we see less of the hieratic dignity of the works of the great Byzantines than in those of his master, and a more tender feminine grace—a quality the presence of which is no doubt due

to the influence of Simone Martini. He is known to us as a painter of *Madonnas* of singular sweetness and charm. His altar-piece at Castiglione Fiorentino, his *Madonna* in the convent of San Francesco at Siena, his *Madonna, with St John and St Paul*, show him to have been an artist of no mean powers.

But the greatest of Duccio's followers was Simone Martini. That he was a disciple of Duccio both his early panel pictures at Pisa, and his *Madonna and Saints*, which was formerly at Orvieto, clearly prove. Like Chaucer, and many another great inventor, he began his career as an imitator. But even in his earliest work we find something which reveals to us the existence of a pronounced idiosyncrasy, of an independent artistic personality.

Simone was born in or about the year 1284. His father was a certain Martino of Siena. When the artist was forty years of age, in 1324, he married Giovanna, daughter of the painter Memmo di Filip-puccio. His brother-in-law, Lippo Memmi, was associated with him in some important works. Simone's early paintings show him to have been a pupil of Duccio. Vasari could not destroy the fame of the Sienese master, for, unlike other Sienese artists, Simone's genius had been sung by a great poet, Francesco Petrarca,¹ for whom he had painted the portrait of his Laura. The author of the *Lives*, therefore, held that Simone was a pupil of Giotto; and in this way, no doubt, Florentine vanity was satisfied. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to add that there is no documentary evidence to prove that such a relationship ever

¹ Petrarca, *Rime, con l'interpretazione di Giacomo Leopardi*, Florence, 1867, Sonnets 49 and 50, pp. 82, 83.

existed, and that Simone's latest work, like his earliest, is thoroughly Sienese.

Simone's artistic career may be divided into three periods. The first, which lasted from the year 1315 to the year 1333, was passed in Siena, with the exception of one important interval when the painter visited Naples,¹ Pisa and Orvieto. The master's visit to Naples was an event of great importance in the history of Italian art. It may be regarded, perhaps, as one of the results of Robert of Anjou's alliance with the Guelfs of Tuscany, an alliance fruitful in its consequences, political, social and artistic. The King of Naples had himself visited Siena in the year 1310.² Two years later his brother Pietro, Count of Gravina, was magnificently entertained by the citizens at the Palazzo Squarcialupi,³ whilst in the year 1315, Philip of Taranto, another brother of the Angevin king, came to Tuscany⁴ to attempt to check the triumphal career of Uguccione della Faggiola, who became leader of the Tuscan Ghibellines after the death of the Emperor Henry VII. Robert and his brothers were liberal and intelligent patrons of the arts; and it was in the course of their visits to Siena that they first saw and admired the works of Sienese artists such as Simone Martini and Tino da Camaino. Thus, as has so often happened in the history of art, great artistic events were the result

¹ A writer in the *Archivio Storico dell' Arte* denies that Simone visited Naples. All the evidence seems to me to favour the view that the Sienese master resided for some time in the southern city. See the *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, Serie Terza, anno iii., fasc. v.-viii. (May to August 1900), pp. 279, 280.

² Andrea Dei, *Cronica*, ed. cit., col. 46.

³ *Frammento di una Cronachetta Senese d'Anonimo del Secolo xiv.*; Siena, Sordo-Muti, 1893, p. 17.

⁴ Andrea Dei, *Cronica*, ed. cit., col. 55.

of political changes and political alliances. In the year 1317, King Robert's brother, St Louis of Toulouse, received the honour of canonisation. The king was full of gratitude to St Louis because, he being an elder brother, had solemnly renounced his rights to the crown of Naples in Robert's favour, "preferring a heavenly crown to an earthly." Robert of Anjou determined to celebrate his brother's canonisation with great pomp and with acts of princely generosity. And so it happened that in the year 1317, after bestowing other splendid gifts on the churches of his capital, he decided to give to one of them an altar-piece in which his brother's act of self-sacrifice should be commemorated. Simone Martini was commissioned to paint this picture. The result was the masterpiece which is still to be seen in unrestored beauty in the Church of San Lorenzo Maggiore in Naples.¹

The Angevin king seems to have been pleased with the success of the experiment of summoning an artist from distant Siena to adorn his capital; for he granted the master an annual pension;² and in the years that followed Simone's visit several other Sienese artists were summoned to Naples.

During this his first period, Simone painted his great *Majestas* in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena (1315), his Pisan altar-piece (1320), the *Madonna and Saints*

¹ For an account of the early representations of St Louis of Toulouse, see an article by E. Bertaux, *Les Saints Louis dans l'art italien*, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 1, 1900. This picture was at first in the church of S. Chiara.

² Schulz (*Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien*, vol. iii. p. 165), publishes a document of July 23, 1317, in which Robert grants to a Simone Martini, a painter, a pension of twenty gold florins. As the subject of the grant is expressly called *Simone Martini* it cannot well be doubted that it refers to Simone of Siena, and not to the shadowy Simone Napolitano to whom the altar-piece in S. Lorenzo Maggiore was once assigned by local writers.

of Orvieto (1320-1321), the equestrian portrait in fresco of Guidoriccio of Fogliano (1328), the *St John Baptist* in the Altenburg Museum, the Uffizi *Annunciation*, and another altar-piece, a portion of which, consisting of two representations of saints, was found near Siena in the year 1899, as well as other works which have perished.

Simone's second period, which lasted from the year 1333 to the year 1339, was passed at Assisi. Robert of Anjou and his wife, Sancia, were most generous benefactors to the Franciscan Order. Sancia was not only the foundress of the great religious houses of S. Chiara and of S. Croce at Naples, she founded a convent of the Poor Clares at Aix in Provence, and another convent of the Friars Minor on Mount Sion. Robert had Franciscans amongst his chief friends and counsellors; and in his later years, when anxieties and bereavements crowded in upon him, he had thoughts of seeking peace in a Franciscan cloister. After his death, Sancia entered a convent of the Poor Clares, and died in the Franciscan habit. Both Robert and his queen held frequent communications with Assisi; and it was, perhaps, on the recommendation of the Angevin king or his consort that the heirs of Gentile di Montefiore, a prelate who played an important part in the history of the house of Anjou, commissioned Simone to decorate the chapel of St Martin in the Lower Church.

In this chapel Simone painted scenes illustrating the life of the saint. In the arch between this chapel and the nave he depicted St Francis, St Anthony of Padua, St Catherine of Alexandria, St Mary Magdalene, St Louis of Toulouse, St Louis of France, St Clare, and St Elizabeth of Hungary. Those panel pictures

that he executed during this period which are still in existence are the *Annunciation*, the *Crucifixion*, and the *Descent from the Cross*, all at Antwerp, and the *Way to Golgotha*, which is in the Louvre.

In the concluding period of his life Simone was at Avignon, where he frescoed the walls of the Papal Palace and the portal of the Cathedral. Simone died in the Provençal city in 1344.

In his native Siena nothing remains of Simone but his youthful work, the ruined *Majestas*, and the much repainted equestrian portrait of Guidoriccio da Fogliano. The *Majestas* was painted in 1315. But six years later, it was restored by Simone himself, and it has suffered several subsequent restorations. Nothing now remains of the master's work save the lineal design. The fresco covers the whole of one wall of the Sala del Consiglio in the Palazzo Pubblico. In it, the Madonna is represented seated under a richly-adorned canopy. The Infant stands upon her left knee. Below kneel angels, who offer baskets of flowers to the Divine Mother and her Child. A great company of saints surround the central figure. As in Duccio's *Majestas* at Siena, the four saintly protectors of the city are represented kneeling in the foreground.

Ruined as this fresco is, it is yet possible to find in the lines of the composition, and especially in the drawing of some of the female heads, some of Simone's peculiar charm. But throughout the picture the influence of Duccio is very marked.

The fresco of Guidoriccio da Fogliano, the Sienese Captain of War, is one of a group of historical portraits that Simone has left us. It was painted in commemoration of Guido's brilliant capture of Monte-



GUIDORICCIO DA FOGLIANO.

From a fresco in the Sala del Mappamondo in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena (Simone Martini).

[*Alinari.*

[*To face p. 358.*

massi at a time when Lewis of Bavaria and Castruccio Castrucane were threatening the liberty of the two Tuscan republics.¹ Simone was at his best in rendering feminine grace and beauty. But he shows us in this and in other works of his that he could also portray heroic types, full of courage, energy and virility.

Simone's most consummate works are his frescoes at Assisi, the central portion of the *Annunciation* of the Uffizi, and his *St Louis of Toulouse crowning Robert of Anjou*. He inherited from Duccio his love of rich, harmonious colour, his feeling for sumptuousness, his admirable technique, and to this he added a grace of line far beyond anything that is to be found in his master's works. The forms of his saints have little relief, but their hands with their long, graceful fingers are exquisitely modelled and delicately painted.

Through all Simone's art there runs a curious harmony of feeling. The beings he creates live and move quite naturally in a world of their own, a world of subtle beauty, of grace and restfulness; where there is no pain, nor sin, nor ugliness; where nothing offends the most sensitive eye; where brave knights, pure as Sir Galahad, move to and fro in burnished armour; where strength pays homage to saintship; where prelates, richly vested, kneel in adoration before the Madonna, or the Christ; where holy virgins, in graceful, flowing robes, bearing trophies of their work or their pain, stand wrapt in contemplation; where angels, their beautiful hair covered with flowers, are ever near to guard and to bless. The proof of Simone's genius is that, in spite of faults and drawing and modelling, he

¹ Malavolti, *ed. cit.*, Seconda Parte, 86^t.

makes this world very real to us. Living at a time when, in Siena as throughout Christendom, all that was noblest in the ideals of the Middle Ages seemed to be dying, Simone gave artistic utterance to the feelings and aspirations of an earlier age, the age of Buonaguidi Lucari, the age of Montaperti. He expressed through the medium of his art the ideals of the later Middle Ages, and above all, the knightly ideal, the ideal of the Guelf nobles and princes.

And yet Simone was not an artistic reactionary. Few decorative artists were ever more eager to improve their methods of rendering, or won for themselves by sterner effort a more perfect command of their medium. In the garden plot of Simone's imagination flowers of rare and subtle beauty were continually springing up; and he was for ever striving to present their semblances more perfectly to the outward eye. He was in fact a consummate decorative artist. He did not merely create a few types. He made a whole beautiful world of his own. Other and weaker painters who followed him were compelled to admit its reality and to become denizens of it, possessed by its ideals, imitating its forms. No artist of that age had a wider or more enduring influence, save Giovanni Pisano and Giotto. Francesco Traini and the Pisan masters of the Trecento were artistic children of Simone.¹ At Naples, too, he had a numerous offspring. The unknown masters who decorated the walls of Santa Maria di Donna Regina,² were artists from Siena who had been under Simone's influence; and the painter of the frescoes of the Incoro-

¹ See Simoneschi, L., *Notizie e questioni intorno a Francesco Traini*, Pisa, 1898.

² See Bertaux, *Santa Maria di Donna Regina e l'arte senese a Napoli, nel secolo xiv.*, Naples, Giannini, 1899.



THE ANNUNCIATION.

From an altar-piece in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence (Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi).

[*Alinari.*

[*To face p. 360.*

nata¹ was certainly a pupil of the great Sienese master. In his native city Simone's influence endured until the close of the following century. Matteo di Giovanni, and Neroccio, and Benvenuto were his followers. The painters of Siena remained faithful in the main to the decorative ideals of Simone. Quercia piped unto them, but they did not dance. Donatello mourned unto them, but they did not lament. They were compatriots of St Catherine, and they had found a medium that sufficed for expressing the emotions roused by a subtly sensuous mysticism. Even those who, like Matteo, took occasional excursions into the world of reality, never deserted for long the calm blissful Paradise which Simone had discovered.

Of the numerous artists of Simone's school the greatest was his brother-in-law, Lippo Memmi. Lippo was associated with Simone, it is believed, in several important works. He certainly was his coadjutor in painting the *Annunciation* of the Uffizi. This picture has suffered great indignities. It was removed from its place of honour in the Cathedral at Siena to the little Church of St Ansano. Its original frame was destroyed; and in shape, it was made to conform to the prevailing artistic fashions. Only within living memory has it been judiciously restored and replaced in a Gothic frame, under the discreet supervision of Signor Ridolfi.

Lippo Memmi painted the two saints who stand one on either side of the central scene. But the *Annunciation* itself is entirely the work of Simone. A

¹ I cannot agree with Schubring (*Repertorium für kunstwissenschaft*, 1900, fasc. iv.), that the painter of these frescoes was Paolo di Maestro Neri. It is difficult to believe that the artist who executed the frescoes at Lecceto was the master of the Incoronata.

reproduction of this picture, full of subtle beauty, is to be seen in the Church of S. Pietro Ovile at Siena. It is, I believe, a work of Sassetta.

The *Beato Agostino Novello*, now in the choir of the Church of S. Agostino at Siena, is also one of the series of pictures produced by the two artists in collaboration; but in this case the execution of the work was entrusted to Lippo Memmi. It is probably one of the pictures that Simone left unfinished when he set out for Avignon in 1339.

Memmi's masterpiece is the great fresco in the Palazzo Comunale at S. Gimignano, painted in 1317, a work which was obviously inspired by Simone's *Majestas*. A *Madonna* by this master, a picture of a grave and tender beauty, is to be seen in his native Siena. It is in the Church of the Servi, over the doorway of the sacristy. Another *Madonna* by Memmi, a picture closely related to his little *Madonna* at Asciano, was recently in the possession of Signor Torrini of Siena.

Three other less distinguished members of the school of Simone were Luca di Tommè, Berna and Giacomo di Mino, the master who designed the façade of San Giovanni. Luca was rather a follower of Lippo Memmi than a direct imitator of Simone. His large altar-piece in the Academy, and his fresco in the chapel of the Seminary at San Francesco are not without a certain naïve charm. Of Berna's achievement nothing remains that can with certainty be ascribed to him, save the repainted frescoes of the Cathedral of San Gimignano, and the yet more drastically restored paintings of the Canopy of St John Lateran. In the Church of San Donato, behind the Salimbeni Palace in Siena, is a *Madonna and Child*



MADONNA AND CHILD.

[Alinari.]

From a picture in the Church of S. M. dei Servi, Siena (Lippo Memmi).

[To face p. 362.]

which the authors of the *Guida Artistica di Siena* attribute with some reason to Berna.

Giacomo di Mino's *Madonna del Belverde* at the Servi shows him to have been a painter with a well-defined ideal who had the power of realising it. His ideal was akin to that of the more decorative and less didactic miniaturists of Byzantium. The chief quality of his work, as of theirs, is a hieratic sumptuousness. With but a small share of Simone's grace of line, with none of Simone's dramatic quality, either incapable of imparting relief to his figures or not caring to do so, his one unspoilt picture remaining gives us the same kind of pleasure as does a rich ecclesiastical vestment, or a well-decked altar with a splendid dossal and lights all lit for festival. His aim, as a painter, was not an exalted one, but he attained it. He got his effect; and his altar-piece imparts to us some of the same feeling that inspired its maker. It cannot be said, therefore, that he entirely failed as an artist. His picture at the Servi makes us wish that we had more of him.

The only other picture of Giacomo di Mino that I know, is a *Madonna and Saints* in the Siena Gallery, a panel which has suffered terribly at the hands of time and still more terribly at the hands of incompetent restorers. From it we can get neither pleasure nor knowledge. The *Madonna del Belverde* is the only work from which we can learn anything about Giacomo as a painter.

Simone Martini had given consummate expression to the knightly and monastic ideals of the Middle Ages, and more especially to the ideals of the old Guelf nobility of Italy. Pietro and Ambrogio

Lorenzetti were the painters of the new movement, of the movement of the *bourgeois*. Pietro's most typical works remind us of a novel of Boccaccio. We find in them the same tendency to naturalism, the same lack of restraint, the same love of personal anecdote. They reveal to us Pietro as a brilliant and garrulous narrator. Ambrogio, as we have already seen, set himself to express through the medium of fresco-painting the civic ideal, the ideals of the successful merchant, of the class in which the movement of the Renaissance found its first ardent adherents and patrons.

The first documentary notice that we have of Pietro is of the year 1305, when he received employment from the Government of the day. From that year until 1326 there is no mention of him in the records of his native city. In the Berlin Gallery and at the Uffizi are certain pictures by him, executed in the year 1316, which originally came from San Salvi near Florence. The existence of these works seems to confirm Vasari's assertion that at one time he worked in Florence, an assertion which receives further confirmation from the evidence of Florentine influence in the works of the Lorenzetti and their school. If the statements of Ghiberti and Vasari be true, Ambrogio also found employment there.

The Aretine biographer relates that, after leaving Florence, Pietro went to Pisa to work in the Campo Santo there, and that from Pisa he went to Pistoia. Pietro did not visit the city of Cino until the year 1340; but the evidence of his works at Arezzo and Assisi leads me to believe that he spent some time at Pisa after leaving Florence.

In the year 1320, Pietro was commissioned to paint the great altar-piece which still adorns S. Maria della Pieve at Arezzo. It is probable that after completing this work he went to Assisi, and began to execute his great series of frescoes in the left transept of the Lower Church there. We find him in his native city again in the year 1326, when he undertook a commission for the *Operaio* of the Duomo. Three years later he finished the now ruined altar-piece of S. Ansano in Dofana. And in the same year he painted a picture for the Church of the Carmine, in which was represented the Virgin, with St Nicholas and other saints. This altar-piece was sold in 1818, and was, it is said, taken to England. Two of the predella pictures which formed a part of it, are in the Siena Gallery. They represent events in the history of the Carmelite Order.

In the year 1333, Pietro painted a *Madonna* over one of the doors of the Duomo; and in 1335, in collaboration with his brother, he decorated the façade of the Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala with scenes from the life of the Virgin.¹ After executing other commissions at Siena, Pietro visited Pistoia in 1340,² and painted, for the Church of San Francesco in that city, a *Madonna*, which is now in the Uffizi Gallery. Two years later we find him again in his native city, engaged upon his picture, the *Nativity of the Madonna*, which is one of his most pleasant works. The last contemporary documentary reference to the

¹ These frescoes were in existence until the year 1720. They were praised by Ghiberti and also by Vasari. Ugurgieri in his *Pompe Senesi* gives the inscription they bore, which stated that they were the work of the two brothers.

² Zdekauer, *Opera d'arte senese nella chiesa di S. Giovanni fuor civitas di Pistoia* (1323-1349); in the *Bull. Sen. di Stor. Patria*, anno viii., fasc. i., p. 181.

artist is of the year 1344. It has been conjectured that both he and his brother perished of the plague in the year of mortality, 1348.

If we turn to Pietro Lorenzetti's early works we find in them the evidences of three distinct influences upon the master. First of all we see the influence of his master, Duccio. The *Assumption* of the Siena Gallery and the *Madonna* of Assisi owe a great deal of their beauty and sumptuousness to Duccio. Pietro's types of old men were derived from Duccio, as were the Angels to be seen in his earlier pictures. In Duccio's series of pictures illustrating events in the lives of Christ and the Virgin, the younger master found many suggestions for his own illustrations.

Again, I cannot but think that Pietro's ceaseless attempts to make more real his representations of the human form owe something to Giotto. The effects of this influence are to be found in his works at Assisi, where he was brought into direct contact with the works of the Florentine master. And in the Church of the Servi at Siena is a representation of Salome dancing before Herod, not indeed executed by either of the Lorenzetti, but a work of their school, which is merely Giotto's fresco of the same subject at S. Croce translated into Sienese.

But the artist who had the most profound influence upon Pietro Lorenzetti's style was not Giotto, but the master to whom the great Florentine himself owed so much—Giovanni Pisano. This influence first manifests itself clearly in the central subject of the Arezzo altarpiece. The types of the Mother and Child, their gestures, the whole composition of the group, proclaim the influence of the Pisan master. It is difficult to

believe in presence of this picture that Pietro had not already seen Giovanni's *Madonna* in the Pisan Campo Santo. But it is in Pietro's frescoes at Assisi representing the events of the Passion, that he shows how deeply he was affected by the contemplation of Giovanni's reliefs. In their unrestrained emotionalism, as in their brutal realism, they reveal the direct inspiration of the reliefs of the pulpit which then stood in the Duomo at Pisa. Giovanni Pisano's strange personality, like that of Michael Angelo, often exercised a baneful influence over weaker men. It led Pietro to renounce, in these Passion frescoes, such genuine decorative qualities as are to be found in his *Madonna* in the same chapel, and in his glorious *Assumption* at Siena, and to devote all his efforts to the expression of violent feeling. Without the imaginative powers of Giovanni, without his sense of structural significance, without the Pisan's marvellous grasp of his medium, Pietro's efforts were doomed to failure. The Sienese master only wearies us where his aim is to thrill us. The reason of this is not far to seek. Humanity loves vistas. A manifestation of emotion in art or in real life may be violent and unrestrained, and yet give us pleasure, provided that it suggests the capacity for further feeling. In the presence of a lover or a friend we like to be assured that beneath all the love or sympathy expressed, there are great depths of feeling unexpressed and inexpressible. Pietro's representations of the Passion fail to satisfy us because he only gives a tiresomely exhaustive expression of very obvious feelings.

The influence of Giovanni Pisano over the Sienese master is also clearly seen in his fresco of the *Crucifixion* now in the Church of San Francesco at Siena. And

here Pietro has succeeded in approaching more nearly to the realisation of the artistic ideal he had set before himself. The whole scene is full of dramatic power; and in his rendering of the nude the artist shows a deeper sense of material significance, as well as more accurate knowledge than in his Assisi frescoes.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle's attributions of the Passion frescoes at Assisi and of the *Crucifixion* at S. Francesco in Siena to Pietro, although not supported by documents, have not been impugned, I believe, by any modern critic; nor do I think that they are likely to be. There is less unanimity as to the authorship of the frescoes representing the *Triumph of Death*, the *Last Judgment*, and the *Hermits of the Thebaid*, in the Campo Santo at Pisa, which the authors of the *New History of Italian Painting* rightly, I believe, regard as the work of the Lorenzetti and their school. I cannot fully discuss this interesting question here. To my mind these works are entirely characteristic of the Lorenzetti, and especially of Pietro Lorenzetti. In his love of obvious allegory, in the gross realism of his nudes, in his violent emotionalism, the artist of these frescoes is at one with the painter of the San Francesco *Crucifixion* and the Passion frescoes at Assisi. The *Triumph of Death*, like the *Anchorites of the Thebaid*, is full of Sienese types. Similar types of old men are to be met with in Pietro's predella pictures in the Siena Academy and in the Arezzo altar-piece, as well as in the *Thebaid* in the Uffizi. Some of the women have their counterparts in the *Birth of the Madonna*, in the Opera del Duomo at Siena. The long, thick neck to be found in most of the figures in these frescoes is characteristic of Pietro Lorenzetti, who

rarely drew well the attachments of the human form. There are no grounds for believing that Traini, the local artist to whom Supino and other Pisan connoisseurs attribute these frescoes, had the knowledge of the nude, and the power of painting it, displayed by their author. Nor is there any evidence to show that Traini was able to achieve great monumental works. His panel pictures in the Gallery at Pisa do not suggest the possession of such powers. Nor do we find in them any display of brutal realism or any exuberant expressions of intense emotion. I regard the three frescoes in the Pisan Campo Santo—the *Triumph of Death*, the *Last Judgment*, and the *Anchorites of the Thebaid*—as the works of the Lorenzetti and their followers. Their apparent rudeness of execution is due in part to the intervention of unskilled assistants, in part to the incompetence of successive generations of restorers. In them, as in Pietro's other works, can be traced the influence of Duccio, of Giovanni Pisano and, in a lesser degree, of Giotto.

Of the personal history of Ambrogio Lorenzetti we know but little. We have no record of the date of his birth. We have no record of the date of his death. Vasari tells us that he took a prominent part in the government of his native city, but in the ample records of the period still existing in the Archivio, there is nothing to be found that confirms this statement. He probably began his artistic career as a pupil and assistant of his brother Pietro. A *Madonna and Child*, now in the possession of Mr Dormer Fawcus, is, I think, the earliest work of his that has come down to us.¹ Somewhat later in date, but yet of the same period,

¹ A very early work is the fine *Ancona* in the Pal. Comunale at Massa Marittima, a picture which is apparently unknown to modern art-critics.

is the great altar-piece of the Siena Gallery. The eclectic imitativeness displayed in this polyptych tends to convince us that it is the work of a young man. It contains passages taken from Duccio and from Simone, as well as from Pietro Lorenzetti. But it is no mere collection of elegant extracts. In every part of the picture is revealed a new and charming artistic personality. Even in the Deposition, painted at a moment when the young artist was affected by the contagion of his brother's fevered emotionalism, Ambrogio is not merely imitative.

The earliest works of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, the date of which we know with any certainty, are the frescoes, now in one of the choir chapels of San Francesco at Siena, which were once in the chapter-house of the adjoining convent. According to Tizio, they were painted in the year 1331. A century after their execution, Lorenzo di Ghiberti described them, giving them unstinted praise. One of the frescoes represents an event in the life of St Louis of Toulouse, the brother of Siena's ally and the Franciscans' generous patron, and was painted during the lifetime of the King of Naples. It is in a ruined state, but enough remains of it to show that it was a work of great power and beauty. In the modelling of the two principal figures in the scene, Boniface VIII and the Angevin Saint, we find evidence of the influence of Giotto, an influence which is yet more clearly visible in the figures of two young men amongst the spectators of the ceremony. The other fresco in the same chapel, the subject of which is a martyrdom of Franciscans, is not so well composed; but it contains two admirable figures, the Sultan and the Executioner. In it Ambrogio reveals

a power of rendering movement which his brother Pietro may well have envied.

After painting these frescoes, Ambrogio visited Florence and Cortona. In the city by the Arno he painted an altar-piece for the Church of San Procolo, of which nothing remains but two of the predella pictures, now in the Uffizi, representing scenes in the life of St Nicholas of Bari. In the year 1335, he was again in his own Siena, helping his brother to decorate the façade of the Hospital.

Two years later, in the early months of 1337, Ambrogio took in hand his greatest work. At the order of the Government, he began to decorate the Sala della Pace in the Palazzo della Signoria. For nearly three years he was engaged upon this important undertaking, in which he was probably aided by Paolo di Maestro Neri and other assistants.¹ It was finished at the end of 1339, though certain other figures were added six years later. On the walls of the Sala della Pace are four great pictures. In the fresco on the wall to the right of the entrance is represented the *Good Government of the Commune of Siena*. On the entrance wall itself are depicted the *Effects of Good Government*. On the opposite wall are two scenes representing *Bad Government*, or *Tyranny*, and the *Effects of Tyranny*.

The *Good Government of Siena* is a huge allegory in fresco, painted by an artist who was a student of Aristotle's political philosophy. On the right sits enthroned the symbolical representation of the Signoria. A majestic figure, appavelled like a king,

¹ Milanese, *Documenti*, vol. i. p. 195. The *Nove* paid Ambrogio six florins, on February 18, 1339, "pro remuneratione partis seu laboris picture facte per eum in nostro Palatio."

he bears in the right hand a shield on which is figured the Madonna, the city's protectress. In the left hand he holds a sceptre, and also two cords, which are connected with the scales of *Justice* at the other end of the picture. Above him hover *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity*. At his feet is the city's symbol, the *Wolf and the Twins*. On either side of him are three of the civil virtues, representing the moral force of his rule. To his left are *Magnanimity*, *Temperance*, and *Justice*. To his right, *Prudence*, *Fortitude*, and *Peace*. Below these figures are men-at-arms, horse and foot, keeping guard over malefactors and political prisoners. Thus physical force is subordinated to moral. It is by moral force, Ambrogio contends, that the good governor mainly rules; but material power is employed to quell incorrigible foes of order and morality.

On the left of the picture sits *Justice*, represented as a woman of noble mould, crowned, and in royal vesture. Above her is *Wisdom* holding a pair of scales, in each of which is a winged figure. The one angel administers *Giustizia Distributiva*, the criminal law of the State. She confers a crown on one man with her right hand, and removes the head of another with her left. The *Genius* in the other scale administers *Giustizia Comitativa*, the civil law. Below *Justice* sits *Concord*, a beautifully modelled figure. In one of her hands she holds two cords, one of which is attached to each of the balances. Twenty-four citizens, respectable members of the wealthy burgher class, walk in procession to her left. The cords *Concord* grasps pass through their hands to the right hand of the principal figure in the composition, the *Good Government of Siena*.



Madonna and Saints.

from the "Pisa" 1308

Ambrogio Lorenzetti.



[Aïnari.]

MADONNA AND SAINTS AND DEPOSITION.

From an altar-piece in the Galleria di Belle Arti, Siena (Ambrogio Lorenzetti).

[To face p. 372.]



THE GOOD GOVERNMENT OF SIENA.

From a fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena (Ambrogio Lorenzetti.)

[*Alinari*]

To face p. 372.

The fresco on the entrance wall is divided into two parts. In one is represented the effects of good government in the city, in the other the effect of good government in the country. In the town we see men working at their trades. They are building and manufacturing, buying and selling. In the streets, girls of the city, free alike from want and fear, are dancing in a ring. Outside Siena's walls, men are ploughing and sowing, washing sheep and tending vines; whilst the sons of the wealthy burghers are riding out of the gate, like Folgore's joyful company, to enjoy the pleasures of the chase. The winged figure *Securitas* hovers overhead.

On the opposite wall are the painted allegories of *Evil Government* and the *Effects of Evil Government*. *Tyranny*, a hideous shape, mail-clad, and wearing a blood-red mantle, sits enthroned beneath a trinity of evil, whose three persons are *Tyranny*, *Avarice*, and *Vainglory*. Three vices sit on either side of the monster. To the right, *Cruelty*, *Treachery*, and *Fraud*; to the left, *Wrath*, *Dissension*, and *War*. *Justice* in the shape of a woman, captive, tear-stained, desolate, lies prostrate at the feet of *Tyranny*. In town and country are scenes of disorder, cruelty, and oppression. Panic reigns in the place of *Security*. Nobles and men-at-arms are riding forth to kill and to plunder.

The sojourner in Siena, who has a sincere, unadulterous love of painting, cannot but leave the Sala della Pace possessed with a deep regret. He realises that in Ambrogio the world lost a consummate artist and gained a somewhat commonplace allegorist. He feels as though he had been perusing a kind of Cobden Club pamphlet, in which were interspersed didactic

lyrics which revealed here and there to the discerning critic that the writer had the poetic gifts of a Keats. It affects us in somewhat the same way as does the reading of certain passages of Shelley.

In the figures of *Peace* and of *Concord*, Ambrogio reveals a delicate and subtle appreciation of structural significance, combined with a winning grace of line, which shows that whilst he had profited by the teaching of Giotto, he had not forgotten the lessons he had learned from Simone. In his dancing girls in the *Effects of Good Government*, he once more manifests a power of depicting movement, such as his brother with all his striving never acquired.

Allegorist as he was, Ambrogio was no mere reactionary. He was open to new influences of all kinds. He not only gave artistic expression to the new ideals of political and social life, to civic and national ideals; he was also susceptible to the great artistic influences of his own day, to the influences of Giovanni Pisano and of Giotto. There is evidence, too, to show that he made some independent study of the antique.¹

Ambrogio, too, had that gift, which is so rare, and yet so necessary a part of the constitution of a great artist, the architectonic quality. The whole fresco-decoration of the Sala della Pace shows unity of conception. It contains ten times too much detail. Ambrogio records here too many facts. But they are not altogether irrelevant facts. All the parts of his great allegory are related; and together they form one harmonious whole. What might Ambrogio not have

¹ See a note by Lisini in the *Misc. Stor. Sen.* for 1898 (vol. v., pp. 175, 176) entitled *Una statua greca trovata in Siena nel secolo xiv.*

achieved if he had allowed himself to give rhythmic, decorative expression to his own emotions, if he had been a little less anxious to enforce the thesis the *Nove* had set him to illustrate?

This over-conscientiousness in regard to the accurate representation of fact cannot, I believe, be set down to the tyranny of Ambrogio's employers. They did not check Simone when he set to work to make a great decoration. Knowing what we do of the capitalist of Siena, it is not conceivable that he would have objected to have had a score of figures as decorative as the *Pax* on the walls of his council-chamber. This malady of illustrative accuracy was, I believe, innate in the Lorenzetti. It was not always active. There were times in the careers both of Pietro and Ambrogio when they ceased to be preachers and pedagogues and were merely artists. It was a kind of intermittent fever. Unfortunately, Ambrogio had a prolonged attack of it in the period when he was engaged upon his most important work.

It is easy to criticise these frescoes as allegories; it is easier still to criticise them as decorations. There are, however, two ways in which we may derive pleasure from the contemplation of them, in spite of all their defects. We may, first of all then, regard them as interesting historical illustrations telling us a great deal about old Siena and the life and occupations of its people. We may also get æsthetic pleasure from them by contemplating them in the spirit in which Lowell counsels us to apply ourselves to the study of the *Faërie Queen*, by troubling ourselves little about the allegory, and by concentrating our chief attention upon detached passages of great artistic beauty.

Ambrogio Lorenzetti had one close follower and imitator, Paolo di Maestro Neri, the artist who decorated the walls of the portico of the Convent of Lecceto. Paolo shows in a diminished measure the same power of rendering movement, the same facility as an illustrator. His frescoes representing the life and fate of the worldly, form a series of painted fabliaux, and are closely related to the *Assempri* written by Fra Filippo, who was a member of the convent in the following generation. Paolo was another Sacchetti; but he used a brush instead of a pen.

With the Lorenzetti the great and glorious period of Sienese painting closes. There succeeded to them a succession of third-rate men. Berna and Giacomo di Mino attempted to realise the ideals of Simone Martini. Bartolo di Fredi, Andrea Vanni, and Niccolò Buonaccorsi, who also were not uninfluenced by Simone, followed in the main the aims of Pietro and Ambrogio. Here and there in the achievement of the Sienese painters of the latter half of the fourteenth century, we find a picture like the *Madonna del Belverde* which rises above the level of mediocrity; but the work of most of these Sienese, like that of the Giottesques their Florentine contemporaries, is of very poor quality.

Siena, indeed, was well-nigh sick unto death. Florentine competition and the attacks of the *condottieri* had aggravated her own internal maladies. In a nation, as in an individual, the store of energy is limited. Siena spent herself in civil conflicts, in futile attempts to keep the Companies away from her borders, and in vain efforts to recover her lost commercial position. She had little wealth and strength to give to the service of art.

In the closing years of the century, there began a partial revival of the art of painting, under Taddeo Bartoli. Taddeo had no new ideals or emotions to express. He was no innovator in technique. He was an honest, capable artist without genius, without originality, but competent and strenuous, a painter who was powerfully influenced by the Lorenzetti, but whose technical methods are those of Duccio and Ugolino. Taddeo, though not a master of the first order, ranks with Lorenzo Monaco as one of the greatest Tuscan painters of the generation immediately preceding that of Masaccio and Fra Angelico.

Taddeo first saw the light about the year 1363. He was a pupil of that very inferior painter, Bartolo di Fredi. As early as 1385, he was employed by the *Operaio* of the Duomo, and four years later he became a counsellor of the *Opera*. But his most important works in Siena, his frescoes in the Chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico (1407 and 1414), his great *Annunciation* (1409) in the Public Gallery, and his Polyptych at the Convent of the Osservanza (1413)—all belong to a later period of his career.

Taddeo was a very hard-working, prolific artist. He accepted commissions in many Italian cities. In the year 1393 he was at Genoa, painting altar-pieces for the Church of S. Luca. In the same year he executed his *Last Judgment* and the frescoes in the Collegiata at San Gimignano. Two years later he was at Pisa, a city he had already visited in 1390, when he had painted an altar-piece now in the Louvre. Taddeo remained in Pisa for some years. During this his second period of residence there, he frescoed the walls of the sacristy of San

Francesco. In the years 1400 and 1401 he was at Montepulciano, where he painted a *Last Judgment* in the chapel of S. Antonio in the Duomo, and also executed his great reredos, on which is represented the *Annunciation*, the *Coronation of the Virgin*, and the *Assumption*. Finally, in 1403,¹ Taddeo paid his memorable visit to Perugia; where he painted altarpieces for the churches of S. Agostino and S. Francesco. According to Vasari, he also worked at S. Domenico, adorning the walls of a chapel in the convent church with frescoes representing events in the life of S. Catherine. Returning finally to Siena in 1404 or 1405, Taddeo remained in his native city until his death, except for two brief periods of absence, spent but a few miles away from his home in high-lying Volterra.

The story of Taddeo's travels is important in the history of art; for Taddeo, like his great predecessors, exercised an important influence upon other artists of foreign schools. He perpetuated Sieneese influence in Pisa. He played a most important part in the formation of the school of Perugia. To him Ottaviano Nelli, Giovanni Pintali, and the Gubbian painters were deeply indebted, as was a far greater master, Gentile da Fabriano.²

It is scarcely possible to over-rate the influence the early Sieneese painters exercised over the nascent art schools of other Italian cities, during the hundred and fifty years that followed Duccio's artistic coming-of-age. At Pisa and Orvieto, at Perugia and Gubbio, that influence was all-powerful. Giovanni Boccatis and

¹ Taddeo must have returned home late in 1403 or early in 1404, for, in August of the latter year, he received special permission from the Council of Siena to go to Perugia. See Milanese, *Documenti*, p. 109.

² Crowe & Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 40.



[Alinari.]

THE ANNUNCIATION.

From an altar-piece in the Galleria di Belle Arti, Siena (Taddeo di Bartolo).

[To face p. 378.]

Matteo da Gualdo had a close artistic relationship to the Sienese masters, to Simone as well as to Taddeo. In Naples the artists of Siena overshadowed all others. Their works and the works of their imitators are to be seen in every part of the city. Nor was their influence scarcely less felt in Florence itself. Orcagna owed something of his sweetness and grace to Simone. Giovanni da Milano, Spinello and Agnolo Gaddi borrowed Sienese types, and tried to infuse into their works something of Sienese grace and Sienese brilliancy of colouring. Finally, Lorenzo Monaco was a posthumous pupil of Simone. His *Annunciation* has, in a small measure, all the great qualities of Simone's art. We see in it the same flowing grace of line, the same splendour of colour, the same fineness of technique. Some of his types, too, are borrowed from Simone, and some from the Lorenzetti. Like Laura's portrayer he was also a miniaturist, and an artistic descendant of the great Byzantine miniaturists. Without doubt he was influenced also, as were his Sienese predecessors, by the works of northern miniature painters. But he owed a much greater debt to the greatest miniaturists of his own Tuscany, to Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi than to any foreign masters.

II.—*The Sienese Quattrocentists*

The Sienese school of painting never revived the glories of its early days. It produced no Masaccio, no Michael Angelo. In the achievement of the Sienese painters of the Quattrocento we find some works of considerable charm, but all of them save Matteo di Giovanni were second-rate men. For the most part they were artistic followers of Simone. His decorative

aims, they made their own. They gave expression to the same emotions, as far as they were able. But it is only from the pictures of Matteo that we gain anything like the same amount of æsthetic pleasure that we derive from the contemplation of one of Simone's masterpieces.

Domenico di Bartolo, Taddeo di Bartolo's most capable pupil, may be regarded as the first Renaissance painter of Siena. In some ways he occupies a remarkable position in Italian art. With Fra Angelico, he ranks among the first painters who copied the forms which Brunelleschi and Michelozzo were reintroducing into architecture. But this knowledge did not make him a great artist. In his frescoes in the Hospital, we find figures borrowed from Masaccio, late Gothic motives from Ghiberti, as well as Ionic capitals from Michelozzo. Under the influence of the Florentines, the artist persistently strives to render form and movement. But he does not succeed in making a great work of art. His frescoes are ill-composed and crowded with figures, as well as unpleasant in colour. In his modelling and drawing of the human form he is very uncertain. Here and there in the dreary, monotonous expanse of the long wall he has striven to decorate, we find a form well-drawn and well-modelled; but for the most part he fails entirely to convince us of the structural reality of the personages he represents. He is like an inferior acrobat who shouts, and gesticulates, and turns somersaults; but who never succeeds in pleasing us by a cunning display of his art. He is garrulous, but he has nothing to say; fussy and restless, but monotonous. Like many great artists he has a wallet stuffed full of stolen *motifs*, but unlike the great

artists he does not know what to do with them when he has got them. The general effect his Hospital frescoes produce upon us, is one of unutterable weariness. There is no more deadly companion than the vivacious, intelligent person, crammed with detached items of information, but commonplace and self-satisfied, without originality or continuity of thought, without depth and sincerity of feeling.

And yet there is a picture by Domenico which possesses great charm, a picture, or rather a portion of a picture, which shows us that if he had kept to his own sphere, he might have done good work—I refer to his *Madonna*, the detached central panel of a polyptych, which is over the high altar at S. Agostino, in his own Asciano. The baby's form is beautifully modelled. The whole group is exquisite in feeling; and the technique is admirable. It is curiously like some of the early works of his great pupil. In it we see the hand of Matteo di Giovanni's forerunner.

There is also one figure in the *Visit of the Bishop to the Hospital*, one of the S. Maria della Scala frescoes, which won from Pintoricchio¹ and from Sodoma the flattery of imitation. Both of these masters borrowed, and made their own, the central figure of the horseman in this fresco. Pintoricchio used it in his *Departure of Æneas Sylvius*, Sodoma in his *The Setting-forth of St Benedict* at Monte Oliveto.

Lorenzo di Pietro, called Vecchietta, was also a pupil of Taddeo. Of a portion of his achievement I have already spoken. But though he was a sculptor,

¹ To Lanzi is due the credit of this discovery. See Lanzi, *The History of Painting in Italy*, translated by Roscoe; in Bohn's Library, London, G. Bell and Sons, vol. i., p. 287.

and had been brought into personal contact with Donatello, there are fewer manifestations of the new movement to be found in his pictures than in those of Domenico di Bartolo. He had a somewhat hard, dry manner, and showed a decadent preference for aged, ascetic types. But he succeeded, however, in producing two works of considerable charm, both in the same year, in 1451; his Pienza altar-piece, praised by Müntz, the subject of which is the *Assumption of the Virgin*, and his *Our Lady of Pity*, a fresco in a small chamber in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena. Lorenzo di Pietro, in spite of his versatile operosity, had a hard struggle with poverty, like several other leading Sieneese artists of his day; but before his death he attained to comparative affluence. Being a pious man, he determined to give visible expression to his gratitude to the Virgin. He therefore sought, and obtained permission, to decorate a chapel to her honour in the Hospital of S. Maria della Scala, adorning it with frescoes, and with ornaments in bronze of his own making.

Vecchietta's greatest title to distinction is that he was the master of Francesco di Giorgio and of Neroccio. Francesco di Giorgio's achievement both as a military and civil architect has won him eternal fame. His work as a sculptor and a painter is of less importance. Like Vecchietta, he expressed himself better through the medium of colour than in bronze or marble. His forms have a great deal of the angularity of those created by his master. They are flat, too, and sometimes ill-drawn, and show extraordinary affectation both in gesture and in facial expression. In his rendering of draperies he was not uninfluenced by Botticelli, adopting and exaggerating some of the mannerisms of



ADORATION OF THE INFANT CHRIST.

[Alinari.]

From an altar-piece in the Galleria di Belle Arti, Siena (Francesco di Giorgio).

[To face p. 382.]

the Florentine master. But in his predella pictures at San Domenico and in the Uffizi Gallery these faults are less glaring: these works, too, are more pleasing in colour than his larger paintings. In all his achievement he shows, as is natural, a profounder knowledge of perspective than his Sienese predecessors; and his elaborate architectural backgrounds are always finely drawn.

For some years Francesco di Giorgio had shared a *bottega* with Neroccio di Bartolommeo. In the year 1475, the older artist dissolved the partnership, and from that date devoted himself to civil and military architecture. After this, Francesco wandered about Italy, leaving in many places proof of his genius. Neroccio remained in Siena,¹ living a quiet, laborious, life, and gaining an adequate income by the practice of the arts of sculpture and painting. By far the greater portion of his achievement still remains in his own Siena. There are five pictures by him in the Siena Gallery, and two in the Palazzo Saracini, all of which are *Madonnas*. The *graffito* of the Hellespontine Sibyl in the pavement of the Duomo, was also designed by him. Perhaps his most important work is the large triptych in the Siena Gallery (Sala VI., 19). In the central panel is the Virgin and Child, to the right St Michael, to the left S. Bernardino. It was painted in 1476, the year after the dissolution of his partnership with Francesco di Giorgio. His one existing fresco, a *Madonna and Child*, has escaped the notice of writers upon art. It is to be found in the Palazzo Pubblico in his native city, in the corridor between

¹ Neroccio painted pictures for the Duke of Calabria and for the Benedictines of Lucca, but there is no evidence to show that he left his native city.

the Sala di Balià and the Sala Monumentale. It was painted in 1484. Neroccio's early pictures show strong traces of the influence of his master Vecchietta, as well as of the early Sienese painters. The figure of the Child in his *Madonna and Saints* in the Church of Sta. Trinità at Siena resembles, both in type and gesture, the infant in Vecchietta's fresco, *Our Lady of Pity*, in the Palazzo Pubblico. His later work even more than his earlier, bears witness to his study of the artists of the fourteenth century. Neroccio, in fact, was incorrigibly Sienese in his pictures. His decorative aims were those of Simone. He practised the old Sienese method of tempera painting with but few modifications. We find in his works a lavish use of splendid material. He bestowed great pains upon the perfecting of detail. He sought, like some of the greatest of his forerunners, to produce a general effect of sumptuousness. Here and there, too, in his panels we find great beauty of line. But his line merely serves to produce decorative, rhythmic pattern. It has little significance in the expression of form.¹

Neroccio, in short, is a typical decadent. Like Spenser his ideals were, for the most part, the ideals of a past age. As Spenser went to the *Canterbury Tales* to hunt for words, which having found he "killed, and bagged," and "put in his vocabulary," so, with a similar intent, Neroccio studied the work of Simone, Lippo Memmi, and Segna di Buonaventura.

¹ It is strange that Neroccio was an admirer of Donatello and owned a *Madonna* by the great Florentine. It is surprising, too, to find that he used lay figures in paintings, and kept pieces of antique sculpture in his studio. See Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Archivio de' Contratti di Siena*. *Rogiti di Ser Francesco Santi*, Nov. 26, 1500. *Inventario delle robe Casciate da maestro Neroccio di Bartolommeo Landi, pittore*.



[Alinari.]

MADONNA AND CHILD, WITH SAINTS.

From an altar-piece in the Galleria di Belle Arti, Siena (Benvenuto di Giovanni).

[To face p. 384.]



Madonna and Child.
Benvenuto di Giovanni.

He had the fastidiousness, the preciosity, the love of archaisms, of your true decadent. He is affected, artificial and sometimes bizarre. But his work, like that of many artistic degenerates, has, with all its insincerity, a distinctly personal quality and a real artistic value. A picture by him makes "a pleasant spot upon the wall," and is satisfying enough to those who hold Emerson's views of a painter's function.¹

Benvenuto di Giovanni was another of Vecchietta's pupils. Although here and there his works reveal traces of the influence of Matteo di Giovanni, he had none of Matteo's genius. The superficial prettiness and sugary sentiment of some of his pictures has won him admirers; but in truth he is a second-rate artist. His faces, as a rule, are as flat as paper: his draperies are ill-designed and ill-modelled. Hard in their outlines, displaying little feeling for colour and less sense of structural significance, his larger works do not merit half the attention they have received. His predella pictures, and his other smaller paintings, have more merit than his more ambitious altar-pieces. Perhaps his best work is his *St Catherine and Gregory XI on their Way to Rome*, now in the little Gallery under the Hospital at Siena. Of his larger panels the *Madonna and Saints* in the Siena Gallery (Stanza X, 39) is the most decorative.

Benvenuto's son Girolamo was not altogether un-influenced by his Umbrian contemporaries; but, although born as late as the year 1470, he is really an artist of the school of Vecchietta. Like his father

¹ In addition to the fresco I have mentioned in the Palazzo Pubblico, there are two other notable pictures of his which do not appear in any lists of his works—a *Madonna* in the Pieve dell' Annunziata at Montisi, and another fine *Madonna* in the possession of Sig. Mazzi, Syndic of Rapolano.

he produced one single painting which is far above the level of his ordinary achievement. It is an *Assumption of the Virgin*, a fresco on the east wall of the Church of Fontegiusta. It is the last, and certainly not the least meritorious, of the works of the Sienese Quattrocentists. The angelic choir floating around the Virgin are the last descendants of the angels of Pietro Lorenzetti's *Assumption*.

A contemporary of Vecchietta and Domenico di Bartolo, with a different artistic lineage to either painter, was Stefano di Giovanni, called Sassetta. Modern critics have done Sassetta a great deal less than justice. He was too severely censured by Crowe and Cavalcaselle; who dwelt upon the defects of his large fresco of the *Coronation of the Virgin* on the Porta Romana, a painting which is only in part by him, and which has been restored many times by incompetent artists. Mr Berenson does not consider him worthy of a place in his list of Sienese painters, and gives his best work, his *St Francis and the three Monastic Virtues*¹ to his pupil Sano di Pietro. Finally, the important influence that Sassetta exercised, not only over Sienese masters like Sano and Matteo di Giovanni, but also over the Umbrians, and especially over Buonfigli, has never been adequately recognised.

Stefano di Giovanni was born in 1392. He was early brought under the influence of the works of Simone, and of the Sienese inheritors of Simone's artistic ideal. Besides executing important works in his native city, Sassetta laboured at Cortona, and also

¹ Berenson, *The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, New York, Putnam, 1897, p. 55. This picture, now at Chantilly, formed a part of Sassetta's great altar-piece at Borgo S. Sepolcro.

at Borgo S. Sepolcro, where he painted an altar-piece for the Franciscan Church.¹

After the Chantilly picture, the best existing works by Sassetta are his *Birth of the Virgin* in the Collegiata at Asciano, and his *Madonna and Saints* at the Osservanza near Siena,—a work of exquisite quality. There is also a little *Adoration of the Magi* by him in the Palazzo Saracini at Siena and a *Madonna and Saints* at Cortona. Not the least important of his works is his admirable imitation of Simone's *Annunciation* in the Church of S. Pietro Ovale at Siena.²

Sassetta's visits to Cortona and to Borgo S. Sepolcro were fruitful of results both to himself and to others. In the first place, at Cortona he was brought under the influence of the art of Fra Angelico, an influence which is to be traced in the predella pictures in the Siena Gallery, and, yet more clearly, in the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Palazzo Saracini. Secondly, by this visit to Borgo San Sepolcro, he helped to perpetuate in Umbria the influence of the Sienese school, and especially of Simone and his followers. Buonfigli's rose-crowned angels have their antecessors in the rose-crowned angels of Sassetta's Asciano altar-piece.

Not less important was the influence of Stefano di

¹ Crowe and Cavalcaselle say that the agreement was made with the Friars Minor in Siena, who acted as intermediaries. But this was not the case. The agreement was made by the artist at Borgo S. Sepolcro with the Franciscans of that city. The document is given in full in Borghesi and Banchi, *Nuovi Documenti*, p. 119.

² I cannot here enter into any long technical argument in defence of this attribution. It is in the flesh painting, in the technique, and in the delicate drawing of the features, that Sassetta's hand is revealed. The same artist that painted the Osservanza *Madonna* painted the head of the angel Gabriel in the S. Pietro Ovale *Annunciation*. Sassetta's indebtedness to Simone is manifest in every line of his best works.

Giovanni upon the artists of his own school. Sano di Pietro, the most *intransigente*, of Sienese masters, was his pupil. Matteo di Giovanni was deeply indebted to him. It is not fanciful to suppose that Matteo may have felt the inspiration of Sassetta whilst he was yet in his native city of Borgo San Sepolcro. For between the days of Simone and the days of Matteo there was no one else save Stefano di Giovanni who painted flesh of the same fine, delicate quality as is to be found in the works of these two artists.

Sassetta was certainly not a master of the first rank. But his work is full of naïve grace, and although adhering to the old Sienese style, he is never affected or artificial, never consciously and wilfully archaic.

Equally sincere, and equally graceful, was his laborious, prolific pupil Sano di Pietro, who, unlike the followers of Domenico di Bartolo and Vecchietta, was entirely unaffected by the new movement in art. Sassetta and Sano were uncompromising in their loyalty to the decorative aims of the early school of Siena. Domenico di Bartolo and Francesco di Giorgio, Neroccio and Benvenuto, whilst faithful on the whole to the traditions of the Sienese school, introduced into their works representations of the revived classical architecture. Francesco, Benvenuto, and Girolamo di Benvenuto were also affected by the Umbrian treatment of landscape. Sano, like his master, scorned all compromise. The ideals of Simone and Lippo Memmi, of Segna and Ugolino, were sufficient for him, and to these ideals he rigidly adhered. Sano, in fact, remained a willing prisoner within the walls of Simone's Paradise. His excursions into the world of reality were rare and brief.



MADONNA AND CHILD.

[*Alinari.*

A portion of an altarpiece in the Galleria di Belle Arti, Siena (Sano di Pietro).

[*To face p. 388.*

This master's works are very uneven in quality. But this is in part due to the fact that he employed mediocre assistants, like Giovanni di Pietro and Giovanni di Paolo. Three of his most successful pictures are to be found in the collection of his works in the Siena Gallery. These are an *Assumption*, painted in 1479 (Stanza V, 9), a *Coronation of the Virgin* (Stanza V, 17), and a *Madonna, with St Agnes and St Catherine* (Stanza IV, 15).

The greatest of the Sieneese masters of the Quattrocento, the artist who adopted and made his own all that was best in the works of both the school of Vecchietta and the school of Sassetta, was Matteo di Giovanni. Matteo's father was a native of Borgo San Sepolcro. The date of his birth is not known. But as he was already practising his art in the year 1453 with Giovanni di Pietro as an assistant,¹ it is probable that he was born not later than the year 1430. In the year 1457 he was painting with Giovanni in a chapel in the Duomo.²

His earliest existing work of which the date is known, is of the year 1470. In that year and the following he painted, or engaged to paint, no less than three pictures for the Church of S. Maria dei Servi. In 1470 he finished a *Madonna and Child* for that church, a panel, signed and dated, which is now in the Siena Gallery. In July of the following year, he agreed to execute a picture for the high altar of the Servi.³ And in the year 1471 he also finished the *Massacre of the Innocents*, which is still in that church.⁴

¹ Milanesi, *Documenti*, vol. ii. p. 279.

² Milanesi, *Documenti*, vol. ii. p. 373.

³ Milanesi, *Documenti*, vol. ii. p. 344.

⁴ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Arch. de' Contratti, Filze di Ser Domenico Xforo*, No. 151. This document was found by Signor F. Donati. Cavalcaselle read the date of this picture as 1491 but it is 1471.

It was in the year 1477 that he painted one of his best works, his *Our Lady of the Snows*, in the church of that name. In the following year he began another of his masterpieces, the *S. Barbara* of San Domenico. In 1482 he finished his *Massacre of the Innocents* for S. Agostino, a subject which he had also treated in his design for the pavement of the Duomo in the previous year. Again in 1483, he provided the *Operaio* of the Cathedral with a design for the pavement, the subject of which was the Samian Sibyl.¹ He died in June, 1495.²

Vasari makes no mention of Matteo, and we possess but little information about his life. His pictures show us that he was especially influenced by Sano di Pietro,

¹ It has been suggested by Mr Hobart Cust that Matteo's choice of this subject—the *Massacre of the Innocents*—was due to the Sack of Otranto, by the Turks in 1480. This event may account, perhaps, for the existence of the S. Agostino picture, and for the design of the Siena pavement; but not for the pictures at Naples and at the Church of the Servi in Siena. Throughout the fifteenth century, stories of Turkish atrocities were continually coming into Italy. Siena was much agitated by these tales, especially during the popedom of Pius II., and in the years immediately following his death. News of the cruel conquests in the Danube provinces reached Tuscany in the years 1460, 1464 and 1467. In 1470 the Sienese heard of the capture of Negropont. And in the following year the new pope, Sixtus IV., preached a new crusade against the Turks. The Sack of Otranto was not regarded as an unmixed evil in Florence or in Siena; and did not excite as widespread horror in Tuscany as elsewhere. In fact it was looked upon as a blessing in disguise. For it caused the Duke of Calabria to return home, and relieved the Tuscan Republics from the fear of a Neapolitan tyranny. . . . "As it pleased God," said the Puritan shopkeeper Landucci, "this came about:—On the 6th day of August 1480, the Turkish fleet came to Otranto, and besieged it; whence it was necessary for the Duke to return to defend his kingdom."—Landucci, *ed. cit.*, p. 36.

² Some of Matteo's best work is in the Gallery at Siena, including the picture reproduced in the frontispiece of this book. There is a charming little *Holy Family* by him in the Church of S. Eugenia, outside the Porta Pispini. As the present Church of S. Eugenia is a plain, new building, and is not mentioned in any guide-book, and as, too, this picture is always covered, it had escaped the notice of connoisseurs, until I found it by chance in April 1899.



[Alinari.]

S. BARBARA, WITH ANGELS AND SAINTS.
 From a picture in the Church of S. Domenico (Matteo di Giovanni).

[To face p. 390.]

by Sassetta, and by Domenico di Bartolo, whilst he was not indebted to Vecchietta and his followers. Of all paintings I have seen by other and earlier masters, that which is most clearly related to Matteo's works is Domenico di Bartolo's *Madonna* at Asciano. But in his fine, subtle manner of painting flesh, as well as the decorative splendour of his panels, he follows Sassetta and surpasses him.

Matteo had no overwhelming sense of material reality, but his nudes show more knowledge and a keener sense of structural significance than do the figures of his Sieneſe contemporaries. He was not impervious to the new influences in art. The earliest of his four representations of the *Massacre of the Innocents*, that at Naples,¹ shows that he had studied Francesco di Giorgio's architectural drawings as well as that master's predella pictures; whilst one of his later representations of this subject—that at S. Agostino in Siena—reveals, in the figure of one of the executioners, his knowledge of the works of Antonio Pollaiuolo, and, in the forms of two of the women, the influence of Botticelli.

But Matteo remained a denizen of Simone's Paradise. His aims as an artist were for the most part those of the painter of Laura's portrait. In the presence of one of Matteo's *Madonnas* we might well say:—"This artist

fu in Paradiso,
Onde questa gentil donna sì parte;
Ivi la vide, e la ritrasse . . .
Per far fede quaggiù del suo bel viso."²

¹ The *Massacre of the Innocents* at Naples has been much re-painted, and the date has been altered.

² Petrarch, *Le Rime*, Florence, Le Monnier, 1867, Sonnet XLIX., p. 82.

His women saints, like his representations of the Virgin, are of singular beauty. His *angioletti* rival in charm those of the Della Robbia. His infants are more human than his Virgins, but not less lovely. His saints are robed in splendid vestments: their "blissful seats" are all glorious with mosaic, and sculptured ornament and marble inlay.

But now and then the artist's Paradise was haunted by horrible dreams of murder and outrage. He saw human monsters, mad with lust of blood, stabbing women and dashing out the brains of babes. He saw mothers screaming hysterically over their murdered infants. And he gave vivid artistic expression to his vision. In the S. Agostino picture he showed his capacity for rendering both form and movement. The women fly before the assassins who trample under foot their victims. The bodies of the dead babies which strew the ground are painted with a realism which is almost brutal.

But such nightmares visited Matteo but rarely. The characteristic note of his achievement is a refined sumptuousness. The personages he presents are full of calm and sweetness. The *S. Barbara*, and the *S. Louis of Toulouse* and *King Robert* were painted by men who had the same artistic aims and ideals. Simone sang at prime and Matteo at vespers. But matin-song and even-song accorded. Until the coming of Pintoricchio and of Sodoma, the school of Siena was true to itself, true to its own ideals. And though its later masters were deficient in power, their art is not without the charm that always belongs to the work of men who have a definite and justifiable artistic aim, and who loyally adhere to it.

III.—*Pintoricchio, Sodoma, and the later Sienese Painters.*

Bernardino Betti, called Pintoricchio, was the first of the two foreign artists who transformed the school of Siena. On June 29, 1502, he signed an agreement with Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, to make in fresco ten "Histories," illustrative of the life of his uncle, Pope Pius II., in the Library of Siena Cathedral. The work was interrupted by the death of Pintoricchio's patron in October 1503, which occurred but three weeks after he had been raised to the Papedom with the title of Pius III. There followed other interruptions. During one of these periods of enforced abstention from his great task, Pintoricchio painted the portrait of Alberto Arrighieri in the chapel of S. Giovanni in Siena Cathedral, and supplied the design for the "Fortune" of the Duomo pavement: during another, he decorated the choir of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome. Early in 1506 he began to work again in the Piccolomini Library, and continued labouring there until the frescoes were finished.

In the spring of 1508, Pintoricchio went to Spello; but, after paying another visit to Rome, he returned to Siena in 1509. He then became intimate with Pandolfo Petrucci, who engaged him to paint three frescoes in his new palace near S. Giovanni. Of these, Pintoricchio's last frescoes, but one remains. By an irony of fate, the subject of it is the *Return of Ulysses*.¹ The artist's own consort, Grania, was certainly no Penelope. Tizio, who knew well poor Bernardino Betti,

¹ This fresco is now in the National Gallery.

relates that he died of starvation, owing to the cruel neglect of his wife, who left him lying sick and helpless to go gallivanting with her soldier lover.

The task entrusted to Pintoricchio by Francesco Piccolomini gave the artist full scope for displaying the characteristic qualities of his art—the love of landscape he derived from Perugino, his fondness for elaborate architectural backgrounds, his great gifts as an illustrator. In these “Histories” in colour, we find portrayed the chief events in the life of Pius II., his journey to Basel, and his visit to Scotland, his coronation as Court-poet by Frederick III., his mission to Eugenius IV, the meeting of Frederick with Leonora of Portugal, Æneas receiving the cardinal’s hat, the election to the Papacy, the Congress of Mantua, the beatification of St Catherine, and the Pope’s arrival at Ancona. In the Cathedral itself, above the doorway of the Library, Pintoricchio painted another fresco, the subject of which was the coronation of his patron, Pius III.

It is impossible for me to discuss fully in this place the question whether Raphael had any share in designing the earlier frescoes of the series. I can only express my conviction that Schmarsow’s arguments have never been satisfactorily answered. I believe that the drawings at the Uffizi and at Perugia were executed by Raphael, and that they were used by Pintoricchio when at work in the Library upon the first and fifth frescoes of the series. The differences existing between the frescoes and the drawings seem to show that Raphael’s sketches were not reproductions in ink of the frescoes, but tentative designs for them, which were adapted, and, as he thought, improved by the older master.



[*Alinari.*

ÆNEAS SYLVIVS PICCOLOMINI SETS OUT FOR THE COUNCIL OF BASEL.
From a fresco in the Piccolomini Library in the Cathedral, Siena (Pintoricchio).

[*To face p. 394.*

Pintoricchio's latest biographer¹ has succeeded in discussing his achievement without partisanship, without exaggerated praise or blame. Surveying all that has been written about Fiorenzo's pupil, it would appear that this is a difficult thing to do. He has been often over-praised, often abused, but his work has rarely been calmly and justly appreciated. Pintoricchio's compositions are too crowded. His colours are often opaque, a fault which is due in part to his plentiful use of secco painting. He spoils the dramatic effect of some of his scenes by giving too much prominence to irrelevant details, and bestowing too great care upon the rendering of them. But when all has been said that can be said in the way of dispraise, the Library of Siena still remains without question one of the most beautifully adorned interiors in the whole world.

A great wall-decoration, when the pattern is not merely flat, ought to seem to increase the size of the apartment: each picture in it ought to be as though it were a window or door, looking out upon an adjoining apartment, or into the open country. The figures, too, that form a part of each composition ought to live within their framework. They must not in any way threaten our absolute freedom of movement. Now Pintoricchio's frescoes do fulfil all these conditions. The graceful, well-bred, and, for the most part, beautifully-dressed personages he represents are certainly not strongly modelled. But the artist has enough power of rendering form to make them seem real to us, if we do not let our eyes dwell upon them too

¹ Miss E. March-Phillips, *Pintoricchio*, Great Masters' Series, London, G. Bell & Sons, 1901.

long, if we do not scan them too closely. There are, indeed, too many of them; and some of their robes are a little crude in colour. Surrounded by these crowds, we sometimes find ourselves ungratefully and unsociably longing for the wide, unpeopled spaces of Perugino's great *Crucifixion*. But yet, on looking through these windows into dreamland, we soon become conscious of a way of escape for the spirit. We see behind many of the groups which encircle us, a beautiful landscape with a distant sky. We see, also, pleasant vistas through the arches of stately buildings. On the wings of imagination we float away into the fair Umbrian country. We are walking with Virgil by the Clitumnus, or with St Francis among the flower-strewn banks around the Carceri.

Through the agency, in part, of Pintoricchio, Umbria repaid some portion of the debt it owed to Siena. Another foreign master who exercised a powerful influence over the Sieneese school was Giovanni Antonio di Jacopo Tisoni, called Sodoma. Tisoni first saw the light at Vercelli¹ in Piedmont, either in the year 1476, or in the following year. Giovanni's father was a shoemaker of the name of Bazzi, but the artist was in some way connected with the noble house of Tisoni of Vercelli. Whether his father was himself of that house, and took the humbler name of Bazzi because he was reduced in circumstances, or whether Jacopo Tisoni was but the patron of the young

¹ Ugurgieri and "other erudite Sieneese" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, inspired by those ultra-patriotic sentiments which vitiate so much Italian art-criticism and art-history, actually sought to prove that Sodoma was a Sieneese and was born at Vergelle, a little castle near Siena. But this Vercelli-Vergelle hypothesis of the seventeenth century is not more absurd than the Apulia-Puglia theory as to the birthplace of Niccola Pisano, which found erudite supporters in Tuscany in the last generation.

artist and not his ancestor is not clearly known. At any rate, for the last thirty years of his life Sodoma is almost always spoken of as "de' Tizioni" or "d' Jacopo Tizioni."¹ Giovanni's father apprenticed him to Martino Spanzotti, an obscure painter of the old Lombard school.² But whilst still a youth he came under the influence of Leonardo, an influence which was deepened and strengthened by subsequent contact with the great Florentine and his pupils.

It was in the year 1501 that the young Piedmontese settled in Siena, tempted thither by offers of employment from the Spannocchi. His earliest existing paintings in Siena are the *Deposition from the Cross* and the circular *Nativity*, which are now both in the city Gallery. They were both executed about the year 1502. It is obvious that when he painted them the artist was still in the experimental, imitative stage of his career, and had not yet developed a pronouncedly personal style. At the time that he was at work upon the *Deposition*, he was under the influence of Perugino and of Fra Bartolommeo; while in the *Nativity* he shows that, since his arrival in Tuscany he had studied the panels of Lorenzo di Credi and Domenico Ghirlandajo. When in this formative stage he seems to have been little influenced by Sieneſe painters dead or living. But there is reason to believe that he was a student of the works of the greatest of Sieneſe sculptors, Jacopo della Quercia. It was in the execution of his first important frescoes, works which he was commissioned to paint in religious houses in the Sieneſe

¹ See Tanfani-Centofanti, *Notizie di Artisti tratte dai Documenti pisani*, Pisa, 1898, pp. 270-274.

² Frizzoni, *Arte Italiana del Rinascimento*, Milan, 1891, pp. 102-103.

contado, that his own personality first found artistic expression. At the Convent of St Anna in Creta, not far from San Quirico, in the years 1503 and 1504, he executed six frescoes representing scenes in the life of Christ. Two years later he began to paint his great series of wall paintings in the cloister of the Convent of Monte Oliveto Maggiore. In this series, which comprises twenty-six scenes from the life of St Benedict, Sodoma continued and completed a work begun by Signorelli.

In executing this commission the young Bazzi had to contend with the very difficult problem how to make varied, decorative schemes of colour in a long series of paintings on a white wall, in which series, in the case of most of the pictures composing it, nearly all the personages introduced were to be ascetic figures clad in shapeless, white garments. He was forbidden, moreover, to introduce the noblest and the most decorative element of figure-painting, the nude form. It would have been a severe test for any artist. Signorelli was glad, no doubt, to renounce it. Sodoma did not possess the qualities essential for grappling with it successfully. He himself, however, had no misgivings, but approached his hard task with his accustomed levity. He brought with him to the monastery a strange collection of pet animals: he dressed himself up in fine clothes; and, if Vasari is to be believed, he played all kinds of practical jokes upon the monks. Most of the scenes in the Monte Oliveto series are poorly conceived, and we find in them evidences of carelessness of execution. But here and there Sodoma shows what a great artist he might have become had he had deeper and more constant emotions, more seriousness of purpose, and greater powers of self-restraint

and of self-criticism. His *Departure of St Benedict*, and the group of women in his frescoes representing the introduction of harlots into the Convent of Monte Cassino are full of grace and charm.

In the decade that followed the completion of this series of frescoes, Sodoma executed important works in Rome, in the Vatican, and in the Farnesina. He also visited Florence. In both cities he probably came into contact with Leonardo and his followers, or, at any rate, with their paintings, with the result that the influence of the great Florentine upon his style was renewed and extended.

In the year 1516 or in 1517, Sodoma returned to Siena. He soon became very popular there, especially amongst persons of the frivolous sort. There was, in fact, a touch of madness in the Vercellese which made him kin with the people of his adopted country. A typical decadent, his degenerateness showed itself in his perverted sexuality, as well as in his strange methods of self-advertisement. He had rather have had evil spoken of him than go unnoticed. He so far succeeded that the mouths of the many, both in Siena and in Florence, were full of stories of his follies. Everyone had heard of the race that he won at Florence when he rode to victory with a baboon in front of him. Everyone talked of the strange menagerie he kept in his house, of his parrots, and apes, and turtle-doves, his badgers, his squirrels, his catamounts, and his raven that could talk like a man. Everyone knew of his vices: he gloried in the shameful title that men had bestowed upon him.

It was during this important period of effort at Siena that Sodoma painted his fresco in the cloister

of San Francesco; of which work all that remains is the *Christ bound to the Column* in the Siena Gallery, a fragment chiefly remarkable for the fine modelling of the nude figure. In the following year he undertook the decoration of the Oratory of San Bernardino. There assisted him in this work Pacchia and Beccafumi, and probably Matteo di Balducci, who had become his associate three years before. Of the series of frescoes in this Oratory, Sodoma painted altogether or in part, the *Presentation of the Virgin*, the *Salutation*, the *Assumption*, the *Coronation*,¹ and three figures of saints, *St Louis of Toulouse*, *St Anthony of Padua*, and *St Francis of Assisi*. In all of these frescoes, except the *Presentation*, it is evident that assistants have executed some portion of the work. In the paintings by Tisoni's own hand we find the same faults as in his other work. They are not well composed. They are too crowded with figures, and they show great carelessness in execution. In contemplating them, as in regarding the master's other large compositions, we get more pleasure by concentrating our attention upon single figures, or groups of figures, than by looking upon each picture as an artistic whole.

It was during this period that Sodoma executed two of his best panels, the *St George and the Dragon*, now in the Cook Collection, which was painted in 1518, and the *Birth of the Virgin*, in the Church of S. Maria del Carmine, a picture which, in spite of some faults in composition, is a work of great power and beauty.

Before the completion of the decoration of the Oratory of San Bernardino, Sodoma left Siena and

¹ The *Coronation* was not executed until 1532.



ADAM AND EVE-

[*Alinari.*

Part of the fresco Christ in Hades, in the Galleria di Belle Arti, Siena (Sodoma).

[*To face p. 400.*

visited Northern Italy. Pandolfo was now dead. In him artists had lost a generous patron, and the State an astute ruler. The energies of the citizens were again absorbed in civil struggles. Again Siena was full of disorder and conflict. Sodoma sought work elsewhere, offering his services to the Duke of Ferrara. During his absence from Siena he probably visited Lombardy, and drank again of the fountain of his early inspiration, renewing his knowledge of the works of Leonardo and his school.

In the year 1525 he returned to Siena. He found a democratic movement, at once religious and patriotic, in progress amongst the citizens, a movement which was greatly strengthened in the following year when the glorious victory of Camollia followed upon a new dedication of the city to the Blessed Virgin.¹ One result of this movement was that there was a demand for pictures of sacred subjects. New representations of the Madonna, of Christ and of the city's patron saints were set up in the public places. Sodoma had come back full of new energy and of new ideas. He was ready to meet the demand. In the course of the five years which followed his return to the city he produced some of his best works. The *St Sebastian*, now in the Uffizi, painted for one religious confraternity, was immediately followed by a beautiful series of frescoes executed at the order of another similar association. Of these frescoes, by far the most beautiful and also the best preserved is the *Christ in Hades* now in the Siena Gallery. The finely modelled figure of Eve is one of the artist's most beautiful creations. After finishing these pictures, he received a

¹ See pp. 217, 218.

commission to decorate the chapel of St Catherine in San Domenico. His frescoes there are of very uneven quality. He began his task well. At the outset he was possessed with his subject. The first scene of the series, the *Swooning of St Catherine*, is well realised and finely painted. Artists and physiologists have united in praising the figure of the fainting St Catherine. Outside the works of Michael Angelo and of the great Venetians, there are few figures more finely modelled in the whole range of Italian art. But even this fresco is by no means of equal excellence. We forget, however, the feebleness of the upper part of it in contemplating the group of women below. In presence of such a masterpiece we have something better to do than to criticise. In all of us there is more than one person; and in complex, many-sided geniuses there are often several. One of the many Sodomas was a very great man. Standing before this work we forget Sodoma the mountebank, Sodoma the *blagueur*, Sodoma the obscene, Sodoma the lazy and the superficial, and are filled with the emotions the master sought to convey.

Yes! there were moments, brief moments and few and far between, when Tisoni was really a great artist. But they did not last long. He soon ceased to feel profoundly and to work with earnest purpose. Content with the applause the first completed portion of his task received, he often became careless before a commission was finished. Like most men of a similar temperament and habits, he soon tired. The emotional impulse was strong while it lasted, but it quickly spent itself. And that was what happened when he was at work at S. Domenico. The *Communion of St Catherine* has the



*St. Catherine receiving the Stigmata.
Giovanni Antonio Bazzi*

flamboyant grace, the sugared prettiness, the shallow sentimentality of much of later Italian painting and later Italian poetry. The artist had a fatal fluency of expression. With little effort he could turn out pictures which were sure to win loud plaudits from many of his fellow-countrymen and fellow countrywomen. He was a damnably clever fellow, and he knew it.

In this fresco Sodoma reveals very clearly the frame of mind he was in when he painted it. He had no deep personal emotions to express. He was gratified with the plaudits the first fresco of the series had already won. He was self-confident and self-satisfied, and at the same time greedy for more praise. In painting this *Communion of St Catherine*, he had in his eye the average Italian woman. He wished to paint something that would constrain that easily-moved person to coo caressingly "Com' è bella! Com' è carina!" And he succeeded in his aim.

His *Execution of Niccolò Tuldo* is a more powerful work. But the strength it displays is unchastened strength. In this crowded composition there are two or three figures which the artist has realised very vividly, and rendered with consummate power. But it is not a great picture. It is ill-composed, and contains a good deal that is meaningless and trivial.

It was during this period of his life that Sodoma painted his loveliest altar-piece, the *Madonna and Child*, now in the chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico. This picture was made to be placed above an altar in the Duomo, and was given, perhaps, to the Cathedral church by some confraternity as a thank-offering for the victory of Camollia. Both the Virgin and the Child were

painted from the same models as the *Virgin and Child* upon one side of the St Sebastian banner. But in this picture both mother and infant are a little older. In both works, too, the high lights on the Madonna's figure are on her right arm, her two knees, and her left foot. The head of the saint on the extreme right has the same features as a figure in a similar position in the Uffizi *Madonna*. The landscape, with its representations of the Coliseum and the ruins of the Basilica of Constantine, forcibly recalls the landscape in the *Swoon of St Catherine*, in which is painted the temple of Vesta at Tivoli. Lastly, the whole picture is richer and warmer in colour than the works of the artist's last period, to which it has been assigned by some critics.

Of the important works that Sodoma painted during the last twenty years of his life, by far the greater number are in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena. It was in 1529 that he received his first commission from the Government of the city. In that year he completed the fine *St Victor*—a representation obviously painted to commemorate Camollia—and the less meritorious *S. Ansano* in the Sala del Mappamondo. Six years later, he executed his *Resurrection* for one of the lower halls of the same building, and in the same year he was commissioned to paint another *Madonna* in the Cappella del Voto in front of the palace. To this period also belong his *Madonna investing S. Alfonso*, and his *St James, St Sebastian and St Anthony* in the Spanish chapel at San Spirito, as well as that masterly altar-piece the *Adoration of the Magi* at S. Agostino.¹ In the works of these years we find several well-painted male

¹ I am unable to agree with Dr Frizzoni that this picture is of the year 1518. It was painted, I believe, at a much later date.

figures such as the *St Victor* of the Palazzo Pubblico, the *St Sebastian* at S. Spirito, and the brilliant *St James on Horseback*. But we find, also, the manifestations of an unchastened and unrestrained desire to render form—to make the figures he paints stand out well from their surroundings—like that which possessed Andrea del Castagno in an earlier day. He does not realise that the figures in a picture ought to live inside their framework. In the Palazzo Pubblico, *St Victor* is represented stepping out of his niche, and one of the *putti*, too, thrusts his leg out on the hither side of it, as does one of the neophytes in the fresco of *S. Ansano*. At San Spirito limbs of dead and dying Turks vulgarly bulge out of the picture. But in other respects some of these paintings of this period are equal to his best work.

The artist, indeed, was at the height of his glory. As far back as 1518, he had been given the title of Cavaliere di Cristo by Leo X, and whilst in middle life he had been honoured by the patronage and friendship of more than one princely patron. He was a popular personage in Siena, especially amongst the younger members of the community. He had received important commissions from the rulers of the city. To crown all, he had won the praise of the greatest emperor of the modern world, and, on the occasion of Charles' visit to the town in 1536, he had been made a Count Palatine of the Empire. The remaining period of Sodoma's life was a period of waning powers and declining prosperity. He paid visits to Piombino and Volterra, to Pisa and Lucca. But he could not earn enough to keep himself out of debt.¹ At last, "weary

¹ Tanfani-Centofanti, *Notizie di artisti*, etc., Pisa, 1898, p. 274.

and poor and old, he finally returned to Siena, where he did not long survive. Being sick, and having no one of his own to care for him, and no money to pay a nurse, he betook himself to the great hospital, and there, in the course of a few weeks, he ended his life."

Sodoma's most stable quality was his instability. Even the work of his best period is full of inconsistencies and contradictions. It was impossible for his contemporary admirers to predict what he might do. In the same series, nay ! in the same picture, there is work of the most diverse quality. He was, in fact, a kind of artistic Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde. And, alas ! it was the Mr Hyde in him that was the most often in evidence.

He is weakest in composition. His works are too crowded ; and the heads of the personages represented in them are often arranged in a straight, horizontal line. He could draw well ; but sometimes his drawing is indescribably weak and careless. As a colourist he had a more orderly development. But even here he is somewhat fitful and uncertain. At first his colouring is hard. It reveals the influence of the school of Florence ; and though better, is only a little better than that to be found in the coloured outline drawings of many of the Florentine Quattrocentists. After his visits to Rome, his colour became warmer and richer ; and as time went on he showed, as a result of constant study, an appreciation of values rare in his own day and for many generations afterwards. In his concluding period his colour is colder and greyer, but his sense of values remains. The best features of his achievement are his modelling, especially his modelling of flesh, and his fine painting of landscape.

It seems ungracious to dwell upon the faults of one

who has enriched our memories with several beautiful shapes. But yet even in his rendering of flesh certain faults must be noted. We see in his work, first of all, a tendency to over-modelling, a tendency which in his later work manifests itself in vulgar *tours-de-force*. Again, his flesh is too fleshy. The bodies he paints look sometimes as though they were nothing but flesh and muscle. They do not satisfy our structural sense. His flesh does not suggest a robust framework of bone underneath. His young men are fleshy in the knee, the ankle, and the shoulder. They look as though they would have been the better for a month or two of hard training. Even his *St Victor* has lived too well; and his *Isaac* is a singularly flaccid, flabby youth. How lacking in virility seem many of Sodoma's pseudo-classical forms when set side by side with the true Hellenic types. How unmanly, they seem to us when we visualise that "beautiful multitude of the Parthenaïc frieze, that line of youths on horseback, with their level glances, their proud patient lips, their chastened reins, their whole bodies in exquisite service."

But whether we like or dislike Sodoma's types, it cannot be denied that he sometimes makes them very real to us. Vividly realised and vividly painted, they haunt the imagination of those who have seen them. Who that has once beheld them can forget the swooning *St Catherine*, the *Eve*, the two *St Sebastians*, and the young king in the *Adoration of the Magi*? In the city of art are many mansions. In one we are warmed with an Opimian wine; in another we are regaled with sweet Malaga. The connoisseur of broad and generous nature realises that the hyper-squeamish are the physically and mentally unhealthy, and he tastes

all vintages. If the wine be good of its kind he drinks it with thankfulness.

To Sodoma as a painter of landscape it is possible to give unqualified praise. His treatment of natural scenery is singularly artistic. In composing a landscape he selects elements which, whether from association or from inherent beauty, are capable of giving us calm, abiding pleasure. He combines these into one harmonious whole. In his rendering, he successfully grapples with problems of aerial perspective, and produces a satisfying illusion of distance. With the works of Sodoma, as with those of Perugino, when we are cloyed with the unvirile sentimentality of the figures he paints, we find relief in contemplating the landscape behind them; and though Tisoni's firmaments are not as vast, as illimitable, as those of the Umbrian, his presentations of natural scenery have qualities of their own which almost compensate for this loss.

Beside Sodoma and Pintoricchio there were other foreign masters who worked in Siena in the first decade of the Cinquecento. Perugino painted a great picture for San Francesco. Signorelli and Genga were employed by Pandolfo Petrucci to decorate his new palace. Fra Paolino, the Domenican, Fra Bartolommeo's assistant, painted at San Spirito. But not one of these masters exercised an influence over the school of Siena at all comparable to that of Pintoricchio and of Sodoma.¹

These two foreign artists gave the *coup de grace* to the ideals of the old Sienese school. Siena never had

¹ Since writing this chapter I have read with pleasure Professor Rossi's article on Pintoricchio in the *Bull. Senese* (Fasc. i., 1902), Professor Lugano's article on Sodoma's frescoes at S. Anna in Creta, in the same periodical (Fasc. ii., 1902), and Mr and Mrs Blashfield's account of Sodoma in their *Italian Cities*.



[*Alinari.*

MADONNA AND CHILD, WITH SAINTS.

From an altar-piece in the Galleria di Belle Arti, Siena (Bernardino Fungai).

[*To face p. 408.*

another succession of masters possessing definite aims, and having a common national character. Her painters in the Cinquecento were eclectics. Now their works show the influence of Pintoricchio, now of Perugino, now of Sodoma, now of Michael Angelo and Fra Bartolommeo. After leaving Simone's Paradise the Genius of Sienese art was a wanderer on the face of the earth. He tarried in many places, but he found no home.

The first of the Sienese to quit entirely the old ideals was Fungai (1460-1516). Brought early under the influence of Benvenuto di Giovanni, his early pictures closely resemble those of the Nestor of Vecchietta's school. But Fungai was brought under three separate influences, which entirely changed his style. First of all, he was attracted by the genius of Francesco di Giorgio, and imitated many of his forms. Next, he studied some German prints which had found their way to Siena. Lastly, he went to Rome, and worked there as an assistant of Pintoricchio. Of these influences the Umbrian was the most enduring. Fungai was the first of the Sienese-Umbrians, though to the last he retained some of Francesco's unpleasant types; and his backgrounds show that he never quite forgot what he had learnt from the works of German masters.

Another master of the Sienese-Umbrian school was Matteo di Balducci, who was also associated with Pintoricchio. The state of our present knowledge of Balducci does not entitle me to speak with confidence of his achievement. There are many difficult problems connected with his life and work which are yet unsolved; and several pictures, apparently by different masters, have been somewhat recklessly assigned to him. I believe that he helped his master in the decoration of

the Library, and that the *Madonna in Glory* at San Spirito and the fresco of the *Assumption* at the Siena Poorhouse are by him. In these works we see the influence of Perugino¹ who was at work in Siena in the years 1508 and 1509, as well as that of Pintoricchio. To the same school belonged Giacomo di Bartolommeo, known as Pacchiarotto (1474-1540), a painter who lived a wild, stormy life. Like Matteo he was a follower of Fungai, and had assisted Pintoricchio. His altar-piece at the Carmine in Siena and his works in the Public Gallery show him to have been a very mediocre artist. A master of a somewhat higher rank was Girolamo di Giovanni, known as il Pacchia,² the son of Giovanni delle Bombarde, a cannon founder from Hungary. In his early life Pacchia visited Florence and Rome. A meritorious work by him in the Church of S. Cristoforo reveals the influence of Fra Bartolommeo and of Raphael. In middle life he worked with Sodoma in the Oratory of San Bernardino. His *Annunciation* there proves that Florentine influences still had some power over him. But as time went on he imitated more and more the manner of the Lombard master, and his frescoes in the chapel of the Contrada dell' Oca, are works of the school of Sodoma.

The last of the masters reared in the Sienese-Umbrian School were Domenico Beccafumi and Baldassare Peruzzi. Both painters soon drifted away from their early artistic ideals. Both found in the Eternal City new inspiration and new aims. But

¹ Vasari says that Balducci was one of Perugino's pupils. See Vasari's *Lives*, ed. cit., vol iii. p. 598, note.

² Pacchia was born in 1477. The date of his death is unknown. He was alive in 1535.



THE VISITATION.

[*Alinari.*

From an altar-piece in the Galleria di Belle Arti, Siena (Pacchiarotto).

[*To face p. 410.*



[*Alinari.*

THE BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN.

From a fresco in the Oratory of San Bernardino, Siena (Pacchia).

[*To face p. 410.*

neither of them had any distinguished followers there.

Domenico di Jacopo di Pace first saw the light in the year 1486, in a peasant's cottage in the historic little plain of the Cortine near Montaperti. Of Domenico's early years, stories are told similar to those narrated of Giotto and Segantini. The lad was fortunate enough to find a patron, Lorenzo Beccafumi—whose name he assumed—with whose help he was able to obtain an artistic training. His master was some mediocre artist of Siena who painted in the then popular Umbrian manner. Beccafumi must, I think, have come into direct contact with Perugino when that artist visited Siena, for one of his earliest existing pictures, the *St Catherine receiving the Stigmata*, is clearly the work of an imitator of the great Umbrian.

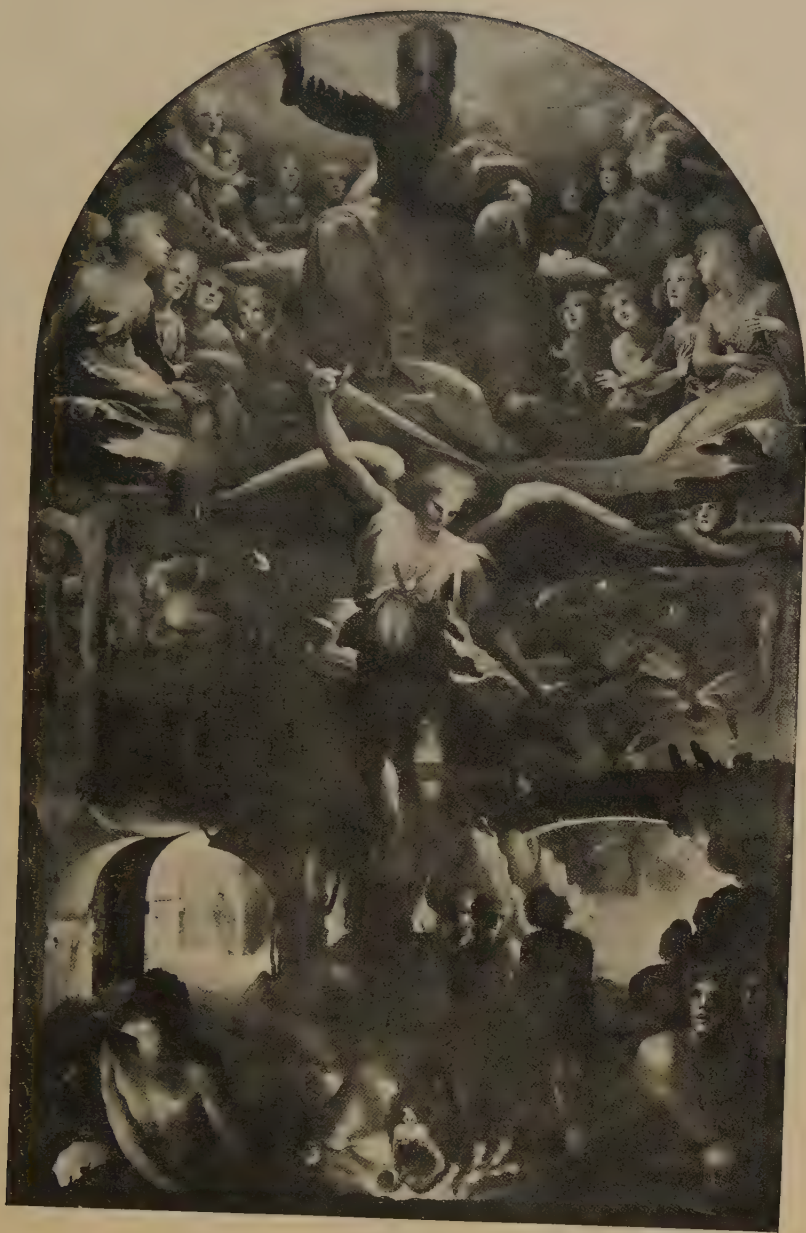
Whilst still a young man, Beccafumi visited Rome, and there fell under the influence of Michael Angelo, an influence which was strengthened by subsequent contact with the works of Michael Angelo's greatest follower, Fra Bartolommeo. In the year 1518, Beccafumi was at work with Sodoma in the Oratory of San Bernardino. But this co-operation with the Piedmontese did not affect much Domenico's artistic development. The two artists were antipathetic in temperament. The younger man was not seduced from his allegiance to the great Florentine. He remained a member of the school of the Master of the Sistine, influenced a little by Raphael, and a little too, it seems to me, by Andrea del Sarto, but loyal on the whole to the artistic aims he had adopted when in Rome.

Beccafumi was much employed by the rulers both of the Church and of the State. He executed frescoes

in the Sala del Concistoro in the Palazzo della Signoria, which won for him unstinted praise from his friend Giorgio Vasari; and, on the occasion of Charles V's memorable visit to Siena, he was commissioned to erect, in company with other artists, an Arch of Triumph, as well as to make a huge equestrian statue in honour of the Emperor. Of his many designs for the pavement of the Duomo, I shall have occasion to speak in the next chapter.

Like his rival Sodoma, Beccafumi was a prolific painter. Like Sodoma, too, he produced work of variable quality. But in other respects the two artists were very dissimilar. Beccafumi had scarcely a spark of genius. His career resembles that of one of Dr Smiles' heroes. He was a respectable, industrious little person, haunted by artistic ideals which he was quite incompetent to realise; but, by "strict attention to business," and "prompt execution of orders," this peasant's son became the official painter of the Republic of Siena. Whilst Sodoma was extremely popular with the young and frivolous, Beccafumi won the esteem of the older, graver burghers. Each had a strong contempt for the other. And I have long thought that Vasari's biography of Bazzi owes some of its bitterness to Beccafumi. No doubt the little Sienese, after the manner of some respectable persons, whispered spiteful, exaggerated stories of his rival—stories which he would not openly utter—into the gossip-hungry ear of the author of the *Lives of the Painters*.

Beccafumi painted a great deal too much; and some of his achievement is very skimble-scamble stuff. Artistically he was more of a Florentine than a Sienese. He had little regard for pictorial beauty.



ST MICHAEL VANQUISHING LUCIFER.

[*Alinari.*

From an altar-piece in the Church of S. M. del Carmine, Siena (Beccafumi).

[*To face p. 412.*

His types are almost uniformly unpleasing. His colour is often unsatisfactory. Moreover, as his work in the Siena Cathedral shows, he had little sense of artistic fitness. He was certainly not a great decorator. But he was very much in earnest about the rendering of form; and he was intelligently interested in the subject of values. In more than one of his designs can be seen striking examples of "the line that models." In some of his paintings, too, he made ambitious, and not wholly unsuccessful, attempts to render difficult effects of light. But the artist must have been a serious, self-satisfied person, without a sense of humour, and incapable of self-criticism, or he could never have perpetrated those ludicrous attempts of his at rendering chiaroscuro with inlaid marbles which we find in the Siena pavement, and which the discreet ecclesiastical authorities very wisely cover up, except during the month of the *Palio* when everyone is in a good temper.

Beccafumi's work suffered because of the faults of his virtues. Some sketches in colour I have seen of his have convinced me that had he been a little less painstaking, a little less industrious, he would have been a better artist. His most praiseworthy works in fresco are the ceiling decorations of a room in the Palazzo Bindi-Sergardi at Siena. His best altar-piece, a really fine work, is his *St Michael* in the Church of the Carmine in his native city.

The flickering fire of Siena's art flared up into one bright, white flame before it died out altogether. In those last moments before the long darkness fell, it so shone before men that, not Italy alone, but the whole world was illumined by its brightness. Baldassare Peruzzi was one of the most distinguished artists of his

age. He was the last great master that Siena gave birth to. In the versatility of his genius he equalled his predecessor Francesco di Giorgio. But whilst as an artist Peruzzi excelled his great prototype, he did not show as much originality as a military engineer.

Peruzzi's achievement as an architect ranks much higher than his work as a painter. And yet his colour-decorations are always charming, and sometimes consummate. As an artist, he possessed just the qualities that Beccafumi lacked. He was a great decorator. He had a fine sense of artistic fitness. His ceiling frescoes in the Loggia di Galatea in the Farnesina, and his works at Belcaro near Siena, are beautifully decorative.

Beginning his career as a follower of Pintoricchio, he subsequently fell under the influence of Sodoma, and finally of Raphael. Of all these artistic influences that of the Urbinate was the most profound, the most enduring. But he learnt more from the study of the antique than from any living master. As a young man at Siena, he drew the group of *The Three Graces*, now in the Piccolomini Library, figures which he reproduced in the Palazzo Chigi in Rome. In the Eternal City he steeped himself in classical art. His memory and his imagination became full of the beautiful forms of antique sculpture, and the results of his studies in Rome reveal themselves in all his later paintings.

Returning to Siena while yet in middle life, he was appointed architect to the Republic; and was employed by the Government in a variety of undertakings, but chiefly in the making and reconstructing of fortresses and defensive works. In the paintings he executed during his later period in Siena, we see again the

characteristics that are to be found in his works in Rome.

In all Peruzzi's achievement, there is that architectonic quality, that sense of relation and proportion in all the parts, for the absence of which in a work of art, nothing can really compensate. In his work as in his life, there was harmony, the harmony that brings honourable repose. In one, as in the other, there was no internal schism. Peruzzi did not strive after the unattainable. He prayed temperate prayers: he dreamed realisable dreams. And yet, modest as he was, he was no mediocrity. His was an eminently sane and sunny genius. He saw himself, and men, and things, in proper perspective. He was undisturbed by storms of doubt, or lust, or egotism. In his own unassuming way he attained to something of the breadth, the dignity, the blitheness, the repose of Greek art. He stands out in strange contrast to the vain, mad, passionate Sodoma, as well as to the worthy but undistinguished Beccafumi. Sodoma, in fact, was, in temperament, more of a Sieneſe than a Piedmonteſe. Beccafumi, in his artistic aims, was more of a Florentine than a Sieneſe. But Peruzzi, curiouſly unlike his moſt typical fellow-countrymen, was a Greek rather than an Italian of the Cinquecento.

Domenico Beccafumi and Baldassare Peruzzi were the laſt Sieneſe painters of any diſtinction. Beccafumi was not cold in his grave before the trumpets began to blow for Siena's laſt battle. The Muſe of Painting ſometimes continues to inſpire a poor, ſtruggling man, but ſhe does not long ſojourn with a poor nation. The experience of Rome and of England has taught us, it is true, that a people may be rich and powerful, and yet

not be pre-eminent in artistic expression. But though Art will not always make her home with the rich, she will not continue to dwell where riches are not. To communities, Art is apt to be a fair-weather guest: when poverty comes in at the door she flies out of the window. "To them that have shall be given" is her cruel motto. The Muse and her followers fled the desolate Siena when God hid His face from her—when she cried in vain to the Virgin to intercede for her in her last struggle.

The question has often been asked why it was that the Sienese masters of the Trecento had no successors of equal genius; and various attempts have been made to account for the dearth of great painters in Siena after the middle of the fourteenth century.

There are some who say that the reason of Siena's barrenness was that she was not brought into contact with the masculine genius of Donatello. They speak of her as isolated from the movement which originated with the great sculptors of the Quattrocento. But such critics forget that Donatello himself worked in Siena, and exercised some influence over her sculptors, and that Jacopo della Quercia, one of the most virile, and the most inspiring to painters, of all the leaders of the new movement, was himself a Sienese.

There are others who attribute the stagnation of the Sienese school of painting to the protectionist measures, successfully promoted by her own painters, which made it difficult for foreign artists to settle in the city. But these measures were by no means prohibitive to foreign masters with some capital, nor were they rigidly put into force. Moreover, in more than one Italian state, similar barriers were erected

without much detriment to the local school of painting.

Yet others assert that Sienese painting did not progress because her masters were peculiarly addicted to illustration, whilst the Florentines devoted all their energies to the rendering of form. To my mind few assertions could be farther from the truth than this. The best Sienese painters of the Quattrocento were not half as prone to illustration as were their Florentine contemporaries, who were, all of them, something more than artists. In fact, after the passing away of the immediate followers of the Lorenzetti, the purely literary or scientific element in Sienese art is very small. Matteo di Giovanni and Neroccio seldom sank to the telling of stories, or the relation of mere facts. Their chief aim is not scientific illustration as was that of Andrea del Castagno and Uccello, and sometimes of the great Michael Angelo himself. Nor were they literary illustrators like Botticelli, or archæological illustrators like Filippino Lippi, or theological illustrators, as occasionally was Fra Angelico. Nor were they artistic journalists like Benozzo Gozzoli and Ghirlandajo. They had a definite decorative aim, and that was almost always uppermost with them.

Why was it then that Florence, in spite of the perverse aims of her sons, produced many great pictures, whilst Siena did not give the world many works of the highest rank?

In the first place, Siena had no energy to devote to art. Nothing in this world can be done without vital force. And in a race, as in an individual, the stock of power is limited. If it is lavishly expended in one direction it cannot be used in another. Now, in the

fifteenth century, in the second great period of Tuscan art, all Siena's strength was wasted in faction fights. Florence, it is true, was by no means free from internecine war. But, in the early years of the Quattrocento, the Albizzi succeeded in establishing something like order, and, after a brief period of disturbance, the Medici founded a strong government which endured until the closing decade of the century. In this way, for long periods of time, the citizens of Florence were free to devote their energies to commerce and the arts.

Again, there was less wealth in Siena than in Florence, and there were but few men in the smaller city who had riches and leisure enough to enable them to become liberal patrons of painters. Several of the prominent artists of Siena in the fifteenth century, masters of the eminence of Vecchietta, Sano di Pietro, and Benvenuto di Giovanni, were harassed by want of money, and were compelled by poverty to accept many uncongenial commissions.

Thirdly, to Siena was given no independent epoch-making genius like Masaccio to inspire others with new artistic aims. Such artists as she had deliberately followed the old decorative ideals of the Sienese, the ideals of her last great teacher, Simone. At last, in her old age, Pintoricchio and Sodoma wooed Siena away from the shrine at which she had worshipped so long. But the change came too late. Her day of strength was then long past. The work of her later artists has, for the most part, the imitativeness, the eclecticism, the somewhat anæmic, academic beauty that characterises the works of a period of decadence.

CHAPTER XIX

THE MINOR ARTS IN SIENA

It was only natural that a people whose decorative ideal was a hieratic sumptuousness, a people who loved rich colours and splendid material, and whose artists showed singular niceness and refinement in the perfecting of detail, should have excelled in these minor arts which add so much to the beauty and comeliness of civilised life. Siena produced great goldsmiths, cunning craftsmen who made crowns and chalices for emperors and popes, consummate miniaturists, like that painter who realised in colour the poet's vision of his lady's loveliness. So enamoured were the Sieneſe of splendour of ſurface that even their pavements were decorated by their artists, fitly and beautifully by the *vasai* of the Bichi Chapel and of the Oratory of St Catherine, in an unfit and yet sumptuous manner by Beccafumi and his followers.

And first I will ſpeak of their goldsmith's work. Already, in the period of Montaperti, the fame of Siena's goldsmiths had extended far beyond her own *contado*. It was Sieneſe artists who fashioned ſome of the lovely things which adorned the ſacriſty of Sant' Jacopo at Pistoia, the *sagrestia dei begli arredi* ſung by Dante. In and about the year 1260, Maestro Pace di Valentino, a diſtinguiſhed craftsman of Siena, made a

chalice and other splendid things for the treasury of the Pistoian Church.¹

But the age of Duccio was the great age of the goldsmiths of Siena. Lando di Pietro, who was destined to become one of Italy's greatest architects, began his artistic career, as we have seen, as a worker in the precious metals. He was goldsmith to the Emperor Henry VII, and made his imperial crown. The goldsmith of the papal court at that time was also a Siense. From the year 1307 until the year 1320 Magister Torus of Siena worked at Avignon; and, for a part of that time at least, he was the *serviens armorum* of the Supreme Pontiff.²

The third of the great trio of Siense goldsmiths that flourished in the first half of the fourteenth century was Ugolino di Vieri, the consummate artist who made the tabernacle of the Duomo of Orvieto, a work which still exists to prove how well-merited was the fame of the Siense workers in precious metal of that age.

After the middle of the Trecento, this art, like others, began to decline; but Siena yet held her place as one of the most important centres in Italy for goldsmith's work. For eighteen years, from 1367 to 1385, Giovanni di Bartolo was the goldsmith of the papal court, making the Golden Rose for the pope, as well as fashioning for him chalices and images and thuribles.³

In the fifteenth century, Giovanni Turini, Goro di Neroccio, and Francesco Antonio made beautiful things

¹ Zdekauer, *Opere d'arte senese a Pistoia*; in the *Bull. Sen. di Stor. Patria*, anno viii. (1901), fasc. i., pp. 176, 177.

² R. Davidsohn, *Un orafo Senese ai servizi di Papa Giovanni XXII.*; in the *Bull. Sen. di Stor. Patria*, anno viii. (1901), fasc. i., pp. 141-143; and Faucon, in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, Paris, 1882, pp. 40 and 74.

³ Borghesi and Banchi, *Nuovi Documenti*, etc., pp. 38-47.



KING DAVID THE PSALMIST.
Portion of the Cathedral pavement (Domenico di Niccolò).

[Alinari.]

[To face p. 420.]

in gold and silver and enamel for the furnishing of Siena's churches. Of all these artists' handiwork examples still remain. Giovanni Turini and his father Turino worked upon Quercia's font in S. Giovanni, moulding for it bas-reliefs, the subjects of which were the *Birth of St John the Baptist*, and *St John Baptist in the Desert*, and making for it three statuettes, *Charity*, *Justice*, and *Prudence*. Giovanni also restored Ugolino di Vieri's tabernacle at Orvieto, and he made the holy-water fonts of the chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico and the sacristy of the Duomo, beautiful monuments of his art. Goro executed the figure of *Fortitude* on the font of S. Giovanni as well as the reliquaries for the Siena Hospital and the Cathedral of Massa. Francesco d'Antonio, like Giovanni Turini a cunning worker in enamel, moulded, at the order of the Opera del Duomo, a splendid casket to contain St John the Baptist's arm, and another simpler casket for the Osservanza, which was destined to hold relics of San Bernardino.

In the sixteenth century this art, which had long been on the decline in Siena, was less and less practised there. In that age Francesco Castori, mentioned by Cellini, and Vasari's friend, Giuliano di Niccolò Morelli, were the degenerate successors of the great Sieneſe goldsmiths of the Trecento.

Of Sieneſe sculptors in wood I have already spoken. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Sieneſe wood-carvers and inlayers had executed important works in the Duomo of Orvieto. But it was in the last century and a half of her history as an independent state that Siena reached her highest excellence in the arts of

wood-carving and wood-inlay. Her greatest artists in wood were Domenico di Niccolò, Pietro del Minella, the favourite pupil of Jacopo della Quercia, and Antonio Barili. Domenico made the beautiful intarsia work which adorns the chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico. Pietro del Minella and his brothers carved the wooden statues now in the choir of San Martino, and also executed stalls for the chapel of the Hospital. Antonio Barili, who was assisted in his most important works by his nephew, Giovanni, excelled all his predecessors in his art in Siena. The Barili, in fact, rank amongst the best wood-carvers that Central Italy produced. Some of Antonio's most important works have perished. Of the carvings he executed in the Palazzo del Magnifico there remain but eight delicately-wrought pilasters, now in the Siena Gallery. Of the decorations he made for the chapel of S. Giovanni in the Siena Cathedral there now survive but a few fragments. But the singing-gallery and organ-front in the Duomo, and the few relics of his perished masterpieces, suffice to show what a great artist he was. Barili's work has the same fine decorative qualities as have the friezes and pilasters of Lorenzo di Mariano. Antonio Barili was the *Marrina* of wood-carving.

His nephew, Giovanni, executed some of the doors and seats of the Stanze of the Vatican, as well as the stalls in the chapel of Pope Nicholas and Pope Leo X.

As was but natural, the art of miniature-painting was much practised in Siena. The later Byzantine miniaturists were the fathers of the Sienese school of painting. The masters of that school never entirely neglected their parent art. Simone Martini and Lippo

Memmi were miniature painters. It was on vellum that Simone traced the features of Laura, and a page illuminated by him is still to be seen in a manuscript of Virgil in the Ambrosian Library. In the Collegiata of S. Gemignano is still preserved a choir-book with miniatures of the school of Lippo Memmi; but the greatest miniaturist *quid* miniaturist that Siena produced in this age was Niccolò di Ser Sozzo Tagliacci. But one known painting of his remains. But that is one of the loveliest of the works of the school of Duccio. This painting is to be found on the first page of the *Caleffo dell' Assunta* in the Archivio di Stato at Siena. It represents the *Assumption of the Virgin*. The Madonna is encircled by a *mandorla*. Around her is a choir of angels of truly celestial beauty. In the exquisite grace of its line, as well as in the flower-like beauty of its colour, this painting is unrivalled by any similar Tuscan work of this period.

In the fourteenth century Siena had a large school of miniaturists. The greatest of them was Sano di Pietro. In the Piccolomini Library, and at the Opera del Duomo, and at Chiusi are choir-books decorated by his hand. In the Museum at Bologna is a book, not assigned to any particular painter, which is undoubtedly a good example of Sano's art. This master's pupil, Pellegrino di Mariano, occupied himself much with work of this kind.

Giovanni di Paolo proved himself to be a better artist in painting on vellum than he was in tempera. His pupil Guidoccio Cozzarelli also executed miniatures in his own angular, distorted style. In the sixteenth century Sodoma's pupil, Bartolommeo Neroni, called Il Riccio, painted miniatures, some of which are

to be seen in four choir-books in the Civic Library at Genoa.

The art of mosaic was never largely practised in Siena. The city produced, however, several distinguished artists in stained glass. The best of these in the fourteenth century was Giacomo di Castello, who executed the circular window above the high altar of the Sienese Duomo, as well as a large window in S. Francesco at Pisa, and the windows of the Guidalotti Chapel at S. Croce in Florence. In the fifteenth century there was a succession of stained-glass artists, who made painted windows for churches and palaces in Siena and the neighbouring towns in the old Italian manner, but very little of their work remains. In the following age there rose up in the city a really great artist in glass, Pastorino Pastorini. Trained by a distinguished French master who died at Arezzo, Pastorini's achievement has some of the qualities of the best painted glass of this period. One fine work by him is still to be seen in Siena. The great circular window of the Duomo, in which is represented the *Institution of the Eucharist*, was made by the future medallist. Pastorini also executed the windows for the Sala Regia in the Vatican from designs by Pierino del Vaga.

Pastorino Pastorini was the one great medallist of Siena. In his later life he devoted himself almost entirely to this art, executing a large number of portrait medals for the House of Este, for the Farnesi, and for the Medici. So numerous were his portraits in this medium that Vasari said "he had copied all the world." His work has not the strength and dignity

that characterises the achievement of the great medallists of the fifteenth century, of Vittore Pisano, Sperandio and Pasti; but, nevertheless, his portraits have a peculiar charm of their own. They are well designed and beautifully finished, and have a grace, and, occasionally, a subtlety, that is not to be found in many more powerful works. In the British Museum is a fine collection of medals by this artist. His portraits of Bianca Cappello and Annibale d'Este are good examples of his style.

I have left to the last the two minor arts which were most extensively and continuously practised in Siena, the art of inlaying in marble and the art of the potter.

Pavements adorned with designs executed in different-coloured marbles are to be found in various parts of Italy. But the pavement of the Sienese Duomo¹ is the most extensive and important example of this kind of work. If Vasari is to be believed, Duccio was the first great artist who made designs for the pavement of the Duomo. The statement of the Aretine biographer cannot be proved or disproved. But documentary evidence points to the conclusion that it was not until the scheme for building a great new cathedral was deliberately abandoned that the Sienese set about enriching with decorations the old Duomo.

One of the earliest works on the pavement, the circle containing the badge of Siena, the Wolf and the Twins, surrounded by the symbols of her subject cities,

¹ Mr Hobart Cust's book, *The Pavement Masters of Siena* (Bell, London, 1901), gives a clear account of the documentary history of the pavement.

was executed in 1373. This is the only existing piece of true mosaic in the floor of the cathedral. Omitting this work, we may, following Mr Lewis Day,¹ divide the other pictures in the pavement, all of which were composed of inlaid marbles, into three great periods; the period of silhouette, the period of colour, and the period of chiaroscuro.

The first period, the period of silhouette, began in the year 1372 and lasted for about a century. In this period the artists of the pavement executed figures in white marble upon a black ground, or upon a ground in part red and in part black. Lines defining simple folds in drapery or features in a face were incised in the white marble and filled in with a dark cement. Some of the earliest works of this period are the five *Virtues*, symbolical figures placed in cusped Gothic *tondi*, which adorn the pavement of the outer portion of the choir. These are of simple design. Only black and white marble is used. There is no attempt at indicating relief. The *Wisdom* and the *Justice* are the best of the series; and as pavement decorations are much less unsatisfactory than Beccafumi's more ambitious works near at hand.

Of the same period, but a little later in date, is a series of subjects, drawn from the Old Testament, which adorn the platform which extends across the church immediately below the high altar. These were executed in the years 1423-4 in part under the direction of Domenico di Niccolò. The central picture of *King David with Four Musicians* is not without a certain naïve charm. There is no attempt at relief. The

¹ See two admirable articles by Mr Lewis F. Day in the *Magazine of Art* for 1894, entitled *The Wonder of Siena*.

whole design is flat, the artist relying for his effect upon his material, upon the beauty of his pattern, and upon his arrangement of masses of black and white and red. In the works executed in the second half of this period we find red marble introduced in the foreground below, whilst the background above still remains black. The first work of this class is the *King David*. Domenico di Bartolo's *The Emperor Sigismund Enthroned*, a work to which I have made allusion in a previous chapter, is one of the most remarkable designs in the whole pavement. The emperor sits on a high throne, under a classical canopy which is supported by columns crowned with Ionic capitals. It is one of the earliest instances in which a painter introduces into a pictorial design the Ionic capitals which Michelozzo had re-introduced into Italian architecture.¹ Moreover, the whole design is thoroughly classical in spirit as well as in detail. It is simple, dignified, almost severe. It is difficult to believe that it is by the artist who painted the frescoes of S. Maria della Scala.

Not less admirable is the *Story of Absalom*, which is the next picture to it on the cathedral floor. The whole design is excellent in pattern, and is eminently decorative. The masses are well arranged, and the foliage of the trees is treated in a very happy manner. There is no inept and vulgar realism in the picture. It is just the kind of thing that Aubrey Beardsley would have done had he been guilty of so inartistic an act as to make a figure design for a pavement.

One of the last works of the period of silhouette was *The Relief of Bethulia*. This picture, which was executed in 1473, and was perhaps designed by Francesco

Douglas, *Fra Angelico*, London, G. Bell & Sons, 1900, pp. 76, 77.

di Giorgio, illustrates the difficulty of making an elaborate picture in black and white with such a medium as marble. The design, though admirable in many ways, is very confused. *The Relief of Bethulia* is equally unsatisfactory, both as a decoration and an illustration.

The two great artists who made the next important additions to the pavement saw this difficulty, and each sought different ways of overcoming it. In designing his *Seven Ages of Man*, Federighi wisely renounced the idea of making a big picture. He returned to the methods of decoration adopted by the early masters of the choir ambulatory. He was content to represent a series of single typical figures, each in its own decorative framework. The fragments of his work now lying in the Opera del Duomo are amongst the best of the pavement decorations made for the cathedral.

Matteo di Giovanni also realised the difficulty of making a pavement picture which should be satisfactory as a decoration, with black and white marble alone. In order to obtain greater clearness of design and more beauty of surface, he adopted another method. He made a lavish use of coloured marbles: the picture now became an elaborate design in colour. Matteo initiated the second period of the pavement. His *Massacre of the Innocents* is a fine characteristic piece of work. The scene takes place under a marble arcade. The columns are yellow, the arches and pilasters white. The frieze above the arcade is elaborately decorated with figures in white and in colour. The background is still black, the foreground red. The figures in the main picture are still, for the most part, in white; but here and there are draperies in yellow and grey and red, admirably



[Alinari.]

THE DEATH OF ABSALOM.

Portion of the Cathedral Pavement (Pietro del Minella).

[To face p. 428.]

introduced to relieve the monotony of the colour scheme. Matteo very wisely made little attempt at giving relief to his figures. He did not spoil the surface of the marble by shading lines. He was so discreet in his use of his material that he almost reconciles us to this form of pavement decoration.

Matteo also designed, a few years later, a figure of a Sibyl for the cathedral pavement, one of a series of pictures laid down in the few years following the execution of Matteo's larger design. In the *Sibyls* we see a temporary return to silhouette. The foreground, it is true, is red; but no other colour is introduced. Matteo's *Sibyl* is one of the least satisfactory of all his works.

To the same period belong *Jephthah's Victory* and *The Expulsion of Herod*, as well as Pintoricchio's *Ship of Fortune*. This last work, which is an elaborate allegorical illustration entirely characteristic of the period, and of the same class as the *Calumny* and the *Pallas and the Centaur* of Botticelli, has many fine qualities. The nude figure of *Fortune* is finely drawn, as are some of the forms of the little group of philosophers who have landed on the *Island of Wisdom*. The drapery is well arranged in broad folds. Touches of colour are very artistically introduced. No shading disturbs the surface of the material. It is one of the best works of the best period of the pavement, and is worthy of the great artist whose name it bears.

The decline of the art of marble inlay began with Beccafumi. That master's art was singularly lacking, as I have said, in architectonic qualities. He had no sense of artistic fitness. I use the word "sense" advisably. He did not *feel* that whilst figures shown

in relief and illusions of perspective are suitable enough in a wall picture, they are unsuitable in a pavement decoration.

He realised the difficulty of making an elaborate picture with black and white marble, if only drawing lines were allowed. He realised, too, the difficulties of the later process of making a picture of marbles of various colours. He therefore determined to make big engravings on the pavement. He sought to give relief to his figures, to obtain effects of *chiaroscuro*, and to show figures and scenery in true perspective. At first in the hexagonal designs, the subjects of which are the *Story of Elijah*, he made a moderate use of shading, though even here he sets himself to create the illusion of space. But in the *Story of Moses*, and in the other picture and round the High Altar, all ideas of decorative fitness were set at defiance. Beccafumi seems to have forgotten entirely that he was making a decoration for a pavement. He treated his beautiful material with the utmost contempt, scratching and scrawling lines all over its beautiful surface. He sets to work to make a big engraving with unsuitable material, and for a position where such a decoration was singularly out of place.

As a great deal of misplaced admiration has been wasted upon Beccafumi's work, let me explain why I consider it to be a monument of wasted ingenuity and cleverness. First of all, if it is permissible at all to introduce designs containing figures into a pavement decoration, they should only be used as elements of pattern. The object of giving relief to figures in a picture is to delude our senses into admitting their reality. But whilst we derive pleasure from seeing

comely figures, through the window of the frame on the wall, as though they were in the open air outside or in an adjoining apartment, we do not, in these days, at least, like to tread even the ungodly under our feet. The idea of walking over human bodies is not pleasant. In a pavement picture there should be no illusions of bulkiness and rotundity.

For similar reasons there ought not to be any illusions of perspective in a pavement picture. As a man does not enjoy treading upon an apparently lumpy floor covered with bodies, so he does not like to walk upon a pavement with holes in it of seemingly infinite depth. A view of distant country, seen through a frame as through a window-opening in a wall, is a pleasant object to look upon. It enlarges the apartment; it gives us a sense of spaciousness. But an illimitable depth of distance under our feet suggests acrobatic feats which no one but a steeple-jack or an exponent of *ski* would face with equanimity.

Again, the attempt to represent effects of light and shade in a picture made of coloured marbles was foredoomed to failure. Beccafumi employed two methods of rendering shadows. In some cases he covered the surface of the stone with hatched lines; in others he used patches of grey and green marble. One method was as bad as the other. In covering the surface of the marble with a web of lines all the beauty of the material was sacrificed in an attempt to achieve the undesirable; whilst in those cases where blocks of grey and green marble are used for shading, the most ludicrous effects are produced. In the *Moses Striking the Rock*, as well as in several other scenes, some of the personages whose faces are supposed to be represented

in shadow, look like imperfectly made-up figures rehearsing for a patriarchal Christy-Minstrel entertainment.

A pavement design, let me say again, ought to be entirely flat and conventional. No realistic effects of relief or perspective ought to be attempted. Simplicity and beauty of pattern, rich, harmonious, and not too obtrusive colour,—these are the qualities we look for in such a decoration.

Beccafumi's portion of the pavement certainly is a sad instance of misapplied gifts. What enhances our regret is that the designs for the pavement contain some of Beccafumi's best work. Nowhere else does he give us such admirable effects of line. Nowhere else in his achievement do we find figures so well drawn. An artist, more than any other worker, has need of a sense of fitness. Otherwise, powers which might have been used to give pleasure to countless generations, and to make their possessor's name immortal, become a curse. Art-loving frequenters of cathedrals and other public places suffer as much from the ineptitudes of good masters as from the poor performances of inferior artists.

The pavement of the Duomo has been called "the Wonder of Siena." It might just as aptly be styled "the Failure of Siena." For it is an artistic failure, or, rather, a congeries of failures. But it is a splendid failure. And the pilgrim of æsthetic delight will not wander over that wilderness of misapplied genius without finding here and there delightful oases. His feelings will not be all weariness and irritation and regret: he will experience many genuine sensations of pleasure.

But if the pavement-work of the Sienese has been

over-rated, the importance of the pottery their city produced has been most seriously under-rated even by her own sons.¹ Some authorities, like Signor Urbani de Gheltof, tell us that no *fabbrica* of artistic wares ever existed in the hill-set Tuscan town. They would have us believe that Siena pottery is a kind of Mrs Harris of maiolica. Others, amongst whom are patriotic Faentines like Professor Argnani, full of that *municipalismo* which is so serious an obstacle to the increase of accurate knowledge upon subjects relating to Italian art and Italian history, declare that the pottery of Siena was merely a late-born child of Faenza, and that the parent deserves all the credit for what little work its short-lived offspring accomplished. Others again, more fair-minded, and possessing a wider knowledge, are convinced that Siena was indeed at one time an important centre of the art, and that in the Cinquecento, several beautiful pieces were produced there; but of the origin and development of its pottery they have, they admit, but little to tell us. "Well-nigh all the history we have of the early artistic pottery of Siena," says Mr Drury Fortnum, "may be read upon the specimens of her produce preserved in our museums and private collections." And he adds the suggestion that her *fabbrica* owed its existence to Cafaggiolo!

Being engaged in research in Siena, and having already some grounds for believing that her pottery deserved a higher place amongst the important *fabbriche* of maiolica than has hitherto been accorded to it, I

¹ The remainder of this chapter, except for a few unimportant additions and corrections, is a reprint of an article that appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* of September 1900.

determined to make search for further documentary evidence in regard to its history. The results of my investigations were greater than I had dared to hope for.¹ I am now able to give a tolerably connected account of the Siena pottery, and to show that it did not only produce pieces of high merit, but that it was one of the most ancient as well as one of the most productive in Italy. In the light of the new knowledge, Maestro Benedetto, the artist who made that beautiful blue plate *a porcélan* which is one of the glories of the South Kensington collection of maiolica, is something more than a mere name, and other great artists like Giulio d' Urbino are seen in clearer outline, the origin and history of certain processes are better understood, and several problems connected with the story of this beautiful art are brought a little nearer to a solution.

The pottery of Siena has a long history. As early as the thirteenth century it was already a subject of legislation. In the Statute of 1262 it is provided that the *Potestà* shall see to it that "*nullus Senensis, infra muros civitatis, habeat vel teneat aliquam fornacem, in qua aliqua vasa coquuntur, videlicet coppi, urcei, et teghie, et pignatti, vel aliqua vasa.*" From which we gather that the Signory of Siena in the thirteenth century was much less indulgent than the Chelsea Vestry of the nineteenth, which permitted Mr De Morgan to have a firing furnace in the cellars of his private house, with results which were disastrous, but not surprising.

The Sieneſe authorities would ſeem, however, ſoon

¹ My learned friend, the Cavaliere Alessandro Lisini, Keeper of the Sieneſe Archives, has given me moſt generous aſſiſtance in my ſearch.

to have repented of their rigour. For but half a century after this Statute became law we find the names of several potters of various classes, *coppai*, *orciolai*, and *pignattai*, who had manufactories in the city, and in another fifty years the representatives of the art within its walls had become a goodly company. In the Book of the *Capitudini* of the Arts for 1363, a book in which were registered the names of the members of the trade-guilds which were subject to the jurisdiction of the *Tribunale della Mercanzia*, we find the names of thirty-three potters—that is to say, a list of nineteen followed by another list of fourteen. It has been suggested, and I think with reason, that the nineteen were the makers of the finer kinds of ware, whilst the fifteen made the vessels of coarser quality for less honourable uses.

That fine wares were produced in Siena at an early date is certain. In Sienese paintings of the Trecento we find several representations of jars and *alborelli*, of pilgrims' bottles and *boccali*, of good shape and decorated with paintings. As an example of these let me mention a *Nativity of the Virgin* attributed to Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Siena Gallery (Stanza VII. 16), and Duccio's *Marriage in Cana*, one of the thirty-six pictures which form a part of his great altar-piece. Moreover, in a document, in the Archivio, of as early date as 1298, we find references to glazed and painted wares. Some fragments, too, of early glazed pottery, resembling the early pieces at Parma and Faenza, have come to light from time to time, though no systematic search has been made for them. And it is only reasonable to conclude that they were of local origin. Here all the materials were ready to hand. Hither, as Passeri tells us, potters came from other cities to

procure the argillaceous earth necessary for making the earlier *mezza-maiolica*.¹ Here in the eighty years that followed the battle of Montaperti, a great art movement was in progress, the influence of which can be traced in the articles of the commonest use, belonging to that age, that still remain to us.

And in those days art was no mere ministrant to the luxury of the rich and well-to-do. She did not scorn to fashion articles for humble uses of humble folk. Is it then likely that in a city which at that time was in the van of artistic progress, in a place, too, where the materials for making the finer kinds of ware were so easily procurable, the fictile artists were unaffected by the great art impulse that was stirring in every quarter of the city? It is true that the fragments of *mezza-maiolica* that have been found there are few in number. But no systematic search has been made for them. And in Siena, moreover, there is no local museum. There is no person whose special business it is to gather together into one place such objects of art, other than pictures, as may be discovered in the neighbourhood. Over and over again when pottery, or coins, or marbles are brought to light, by plough or spade or pick, the *contadino*, or the builder's labourer, eluding the Government officials, succeeds in disposing of such things to small dealers who, in their turn, sell them to the passing tourist. And in this way many valuable relics of old Siena have been wafted away to the ends of the earth.

Moreover, whilst the city can boast distinguished archivists and historians of learning, who are throwing

¹ Passeri says that the *terra di S. Giovanni* from Siena was much finer than the famed earth of Vicenza. According to the same authority, it was about the year 1300 that it was introduced into the potteries east of the Apennines.



EXAMPLES OF EARLY SIENESE MAJOLICA.

From Mr Henry Wallis' *The Art of the Precursors: A Study in the History of Early Italian Majolica*.

[To face p. 436.]

light upon every period of her history, there is no one of her sons who has made the local pottery ware a special subject of study. No Sieneſe has tried to do for his native place what Profeſſors Malagola and Argnani have done for Faenza. I am convinced that if ſuch excavations were made at Siena as have been made in the Emilian city, they would yield moſt intereſting reſults. For documents are revealing to us more and more the importance and the number of the Sieneſe potteries.

In a document of as early a date as 1251 we find a *vasellaio* mentioned;¹ and in 1287 a man of noble birth, Giacomo Beringhieri, had a pottery near Siena, at San Giuſto della Berardenga.² After the commencement of the fifteenth century, the word *orciolaio* occurs with great frequency in the local archives. At this time Siena was on very friendly terms with Montelupo,³ and this frienſhip between the two cities was, no doubt, very advantageous to the progreſs of the ceramic art. For however unprogreſſive and decadent the ancient pottery of Montelupo may have become in later times, in the early Quattrocento it was ſtill one of the moſt important centres, perhaps the moſt important centre, for the production of glazed wares. And lovers of maiolica ſhould not allow themſelves to be ſo far prejudiced by the weird ugliness of her

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena. *Libro delle decime e condanne, ad annum*, c. 8t. See Guasti's *Cafaggiolo, e di altre fabbriche di ceramiche in Toscana*, Florence, Barbera, 1902, p. 315.

² See Guasti, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

³ In the year 1422 the Commune of Montelupo, in token of their love and frienſhip for a neighbour city, ſent to the Signory of Siena a tame wolf. "Et quamvis," they wrote, "hoc animal ex ſui natura ferox et immane ſit, nichilominus lupus iſte plusquam catulus mansuetus et domesticus eſt." In Siena in thoſe times, as in Rome to-day, a wolf, ſymboliſing the falſed origin of the city, was always kept at the public expenſe.

later productions as to deny to the time-honoured parent of the potteries of Florence and Cafaggiolo her due meed of credit.

Amongst the *orciolai* mentioned in the public documents of this age we find a Lorenzo di Giacomo,¹ who, in 1403, was given a house in the neighbourhood of the Servi by Cristofano di Binduccio, a painter who held a high position in his art; a Niccolò di Bettino, nicknamed “Il Terroso”;² and a Mariano d’ Andrea di Giovanni,³ who, in the year 1429, had his *bottega* in the contrada of San Marco, hard by the little Church of Santa Lucia, and was thus a forerunner of those two great Sienese artists Pietro and Niccolò di Lorenzo Mazzaburroni, who were at work here in 1488, and of Maestro Benedetto, who, some fifteen years after that date, set up his *bottega* at the same spot. There is also mentioned a Giorgio d’ Andrea who, as Cavaliere Lisini surmises, was perhaps the father of that Cecco di Giorgio whose statues in terra-cotta are well known in Tuscany.

So numerous did the potters of Siena become, that after the middle of the century, they were, as we shall presently see, more than sufficient to supply the needs of the city and the country round. And it was this state of things, no doubt, that led some of them to seek employment in some of the towns east of the Apennines. In the year 1462 a Sienese artist, Ventura di Maestro Simone de’ Piccolomini, left his native city to establish himself at Pesaro. From

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena. *Perg. di S. Raimondo*.

² Arch. di Stato, Siena. *Biccherna*, 1423-4, f. 2^t.

³ Arch. di Stato, Siena. *Libro della Compagnia di S. Lucia*, LI, c. 3.
See also *Misc. Stor. Senese*, vol. v., p. 150.

a document quoted by Passeri¹ we learn that he entered into partnership with Matteo di Raniere da Cagli for the purpose of taking over and developing a pottery there. With this object the partners borrowed 270 ducats. And this was so large a sum for those days, that it would seem to be probable that, as Passeri argues, Ventura and Matteo had it in mind to put down an entirely new and expensive plant with the object of developing some new process. The historian of the maiolica of Pesaro contends that it was at this time that the use of the stanniferous enamel was introduced into Pesaro. Shortly after this, in 1463, we find Ventura purchasing a considerable quantity of silicious earth from Lake Trasimene, for use in the glazing of his wares.

But this emigration of some of their craft did not mitigate much the severity of the competition, and, in the year 1476, the potters of Siena sought relief from it in other ways. They presented a petition to the Signory asking for protection against foreign competition. In stating their case they pointed out that there were sixteen *botteghe* of the art in the city, all well established and with good masters, which could furnish much more wares than were required for the needs of Siena and its neighbouring towns. They asked that a heavy duty should be placed on all pottery coming into the city. Only one class of goods did they wish to be exempt, and that was *maiorica*, a term which in those days was applied only to the lustred wares of Valentia and Malaga. In this they closely followed their brothers at Venice,

¹ Passeri, *Istorie delle Pitture in Maiolica fatta in Pesaro*; in *Istorie delle Fabbriche di Maioliche Metaurensi*, etc., raccolta a cura di Giuliano Vanzolini, Pesaro, 1879, vol. i., cap. x., pp. 37, 38.

who, forty years before, had succeeded in obtaining an ordinance which prohibited pottery of any kind being introduced into the Republic, save and except the true maiolica.

The petition of the Sienese master potters was granted;¹ and it was provided that should any one attempt to disregard their *Privilegi* he would have to pay double duty, and suffer the destruction of his wares. Protected in this way, the Sienese *fabbriche* rapidly developed, and in 1483 there was an entire street of the city inhabited by *orciolai*.

But though the local potters thus appealed for protection against the competition of their fellow-craftsmen of neighbouring cities, it was not for the reason that their productions were at all inferior in artistic quality to those of the best of their rivals. The cause of this appeal is rather to be traced to that firm faith in the efficacy of protective measures as an unfailing remedy for almost all social ills, which was so firmly held by the citizens of the Italian Republics. For in the eighth and ninth decades of the Quattrocento, long before any foreign potters came to settle in their city, native craftsmen were already engaged in producing consummate examples of the fictile art. It was not, in fact, until 1498, at a time when the ceramic artists of Italy were becoming more nomadic than ever in their habits, that we find foreigners at work in the Sienese *botteghe*. But the tiles for the Oratorio of S. Caterina in Fontebranda had already been commenced in the year 1480; and in 1488 two Sienese made the

¹ Borghesi and Banchi, *Nuovi Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte Senese*. Siena, Torrini, 1898, pp. 248, 249. The date of the concession is January 16, 1477.

beautiful *ambrogette* that are still to be seen in the Bichi chapel in S. Agostino.

These tiles of the Bichi chapel are among the most beautiful produced by the Italian *fabbriche* of the Renaissance. They were the work of two Sieneſe artists, Pietro and Niccolò di Lorenzo Mazzaburroni. The documentary evidence as to their authorſhip and date is quite unimpeachable.¹ They were made but a few months later than the earlieſt existing tiles of this claſſ produced by any Faentine artiſt. Adorned with leaves and trophies, they are anceſtors in the direct line of the *ambrogette* of the Petrucci Palace. And this later pavement, as we ſhall preſently ſee, did not owe as much as has been ſuppoſed to foreign influence. It is probable, on the other hand, that the firſt known *fabbrica* of artiſtic tiles in Faenza was founded by potters from the neighbourhood of Siena who had emigrated to the Emilian city. The earlieſt Faentine *ambrogette* of any artiſtic importance are thoſe which adorn the chapel of S. Sebastiano in the church of San Petronio at Bologna. They were made by a family then working in Faenza of the name of Bettini. Now whiſt at Faenza this cognomen is not to be found in any public document of an earlier date than 1480, in Siena and its neighbouring towns it was from early days a well-known name, borne by a noble family of the Tuſcan city. Moreover, we know that certain of the Bettini, a branch preſumably of the Sieneſe family, had a pottery at Asciano, near Siena, early in the Quattrocento. It is, then, probable, I do not ſay

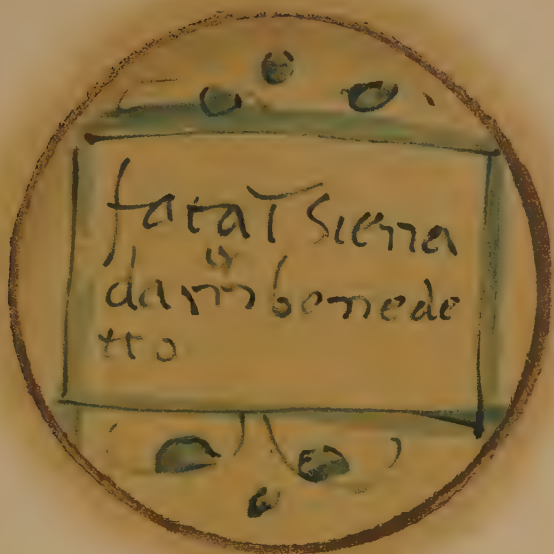
¹ The contract is to be found in vol. xxxviii, of the Abate Galgano Bichi's MS. hiſtory of the Bichi Family in the private archives of the Bichi-Ruſpoli Forteguerra at Siena. It is quoted in the *Misc. Stor. Sen.* vol. iv., p. 124. The actual date of the contract is June 3, 1488.

proven, that the Bettini of Faenza were immigrants from Siena, who, driven from their native country by stress of competition, like Ventura di Maestro Simone, had sought employment east of the Apennines.

The manufacture of *ambrogette* at Siena continued to develop in the early years of the following century. In the years 1502 and 1504 more *quadretti* and *tondi* were made for the Oratorio of S. Caterina in Fontebranda. In 1509 the tiled pavement of Pandolfo Petrucci's new palace was begun. And in 1513 the Piccolomini chapel at S. Francesco was similarly adorned. Many other churches and palaces of the city were made beautiful by these *ambrogette*. Alas! but few of them now remain in the places for which they were made. In the course of years the majority have been destroyed, or stolen, or sold away. And until yesterday the Sieneſe, caring, for the moſt part, but little for the artistic preſtige of their city, were content that the *ambrogette* themſelves, as well as the artiſts who made them, ſhould alike be forgotten, and that the very name of Siena ſhould be removed from the roll of the great Italian *fabbriche* of maiolica.

And as artiſts who had gone forth from their town had carried the knowledge of new proceſſes to the cities of Eaſtern Italy, ſo the Sieneſe in their turn were ready to welcome craſtſmen who came to them from Faenza and the Urbinate. In the year 1499 we find a certain Evangelista di Michele “*pictor vasorum*” of Faenza, together with Tommaſo his brother, at work in Siena.¹ Theſe two brothers were perhaps from the

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Arch. de' contratti*, protocollo di ſer Baldäſſare Corti, filza 51, ſtrumento del 1499.



pottery of Maestro Niccolò of Faenza. At any rate we learn from the documents cited by Professor Malagola¹ that two artists bearing the names of Evangelista and Tommaso were at work in Maestro Niccolò's *bottega* a few years before these two brothers settled in the Tuscan city. Amongst other Faentine *maiolicai* who migrated to Siena were Giovanni Andrea Tonduzzi, and Marcantonio his son. Marcantonio rose to a position of some importance in the art, and in the year 1529 he was one of the commission appointed by the master-potters to frame the new statute. But soon he fell into disgrace, and two years later he was condemned on a charge of homicide. Two other artists from Faenza figure in the case, which ended in the defendant being let off with a fine of five *scudi*.

A more reputable Faentine was that Maestro Benedetto whose name always recalls sensations of pleasure to English connoisseurs of maiolica. In the archives of his native city nothing is to be found concerning this artist or his family. The first mention of him occurs in his own sworn declaration² in connection with a Sienese assessment of the year 1509. We learn from it that his father was a certain Giorgio of Faenza, and that Benedetto had then been resident in the Tuscan city for at least six years. He was the possessor of a half-share in a house and *bottega* in the piazza of San Marco, near the church of Santa Lucia, a locality in which, as we have seen, ceramic artists had lived and worked for several generations. It does not appear that up to then he had prospered

¹ Argnani, *Il Rinascimento delle Ceramiche Majolicate in Faenza, con Appendici di Documenti inediti forniti dal Prof. Carlo Malagola*. Faenza, Montanari, 1898, vol. i., pp. 289, 290.

² Arch. di Stato, Siena, *Lira di S. Marco*, vol. ci., ann. 1509.

greatly, for he still owed a considerable sum of money which he had received as a loan to enable him to purchase his share in the *bottega* and house.

In October 1510 he was made a member of the *Compagnia* of Santa Lucia,¹ a religious guild, a kind of sick and burial club, which for centuries was an association of some importance in Siena. And it is in the books of this guild that is to be found most of the documentary evidence relating to him. He must soon have succeeded in winning the confidence of the brothers of the *Compagnia*; as, but a year after his election to membership, he was chosen for the office of sacristan,² and twelve months later he was placed upon its council. He continued to be one of its leading members. Thrice was he chosen for the office of sacristan,³ twice was he councillor, twice one of the two *infermieri* of the guild, and lastly, in 1521-22, he held the highest office of all, having been elected one of its consuls. After this we find no further record of him.

This new evidence in regard to Maestro Benedetto, inasmuch as it establishes the fact that he was a native of Faenza, if taken by itself, would seem to confirm Argnani's views upon the question of the origin and early history of the Siena pottery. But the evidence that I have brought forward in regard to the development of the ceramic industry at Siena must be taken in its entirety. And if it is all fairly considered, it will, I think, be admitted that it com-

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena. *Libro delle deliberazioni della Compagnia di S. Lucia*, Liv. f. 47^t: "Fu ottenuto e solenemente deliberato per lupini xiiij bianchi uno nero in contrario disponenti che Benedetto di . . . da Faenza, vaxaio, in su la piazza di San Marcho fusse de' nostri fratelli. A di viij di Dicembre fe' l'entrata solenemente."

² *MS. cit.*, f. 51^t.

³ *MS. cit.*, ff. 51^t, 56, 61^t.

pletely destroys the theories of the Faentine professor.

It is certain that in Maestro Benedetto's day there were several great artists at work in the numerous *botteghe* of the Tuscan town, and that a large majority of these were native *vasai* who had been taught by great Sienese masters like the Mazzaburroni. Maestro Benedetto's prominence is due to the fact that, of all the beautiful pieces of Siena ware that have survived to our day, the only one of them that bears a full signature has preserved his name. Other contemporary artists of equal powers produced works on which are to be found only untranslatable marks, and so their names have passed into oblivion.

Nor in the Cinquecento, when, as I have said, ceramic artists led a wandering life, were the Faentines the only foreign potters who worked in Siena. Hither came also artists from the Urbinate. And amongst these was that Giulio da Urbino of whom Vasari speaks with such enthusiasm. We learn from the Aretine biographer that he was a most excellent master, and skilled in making all the finer kinds of ware. His pieces, we are told, were beautifully painted, and had a glaze of extraordinary purity. He mentions as worthy of especial praise the *quadretti* and *tondi* that he made for pavements.

This master is almost unnoticed by writers on maiolica, and I am not aware that a single piece has been assigned to him in any recognised treatise on the art. And yet in a well-known collection there is a beautiful, though sadly injured, specimen of his handiwork. In the museum at Bologna is a large *brocca* on which is represented the story of Scilla. In

the background is seen the fortress of Megara with its bastioned wall. Minos and his knights are riding towards the machicolated gate-tower, from the top of which Scilla is looking down upon the young king, her eyes filled with desire. The whole scene is rendered with great vigour. The picture is full of movement, and is excellent in colour. And at the same time it is admirably adapted to its purpose as a ceramic decoration. It is just the kind of work that we should naturally expect from the hand of a brilliant young follower of Orazio Fontana.

The piece bears two inscriptions which, hitherto, would seem to have passed unnoticed. The one reads as follows: "1535. Iulio da Urbino, in bottega di Mastro Alessandro in Arimini." The other inscription has suffered some slight injury, but this much is clear: "15 . . . De Silla, innamorata de Minos, VIII de Oudio." The last three words refer, of course, to the fact that the story of Scilla is to be found in the eighth book of the *Metamorphoses*, a poem from which ceramic artists of the Renaissance not infrequently chose their subjects for paintings. These inscriptions form the earliest record that we have of Giulio da Urbino.

We next find him working in 1547, at Siena, where he suffered imprisonment for some minor offence. It is possible that there he may have made some *ambrogette* for the Oratorio of S. Caterina, as the pavement there was continually being repaired. And some of the tiles certainly do suggest the influence of Urbino—not so much in design as in the character of their backgrounds.

It must have been several years after this that he

entered the service of Alfonso the Second of Ferrara, and made for that prince the beautiful pieces of which Vasari speaks. Campori tells us that in such books of accounts of the Estes as still exist, Giulio's name occurs only once, and then he is found working, not for Alfonso at Ferrara, but for Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, that great patron of maiolica at Tivoli. It would require much stronger evidence than this to shake my faith in Vasari's statements in regard to the Urbinate artist. Vasari was a contemporary of Giulio. He would seem to have known him personally; and his notice of the master reads like the eulogy of a friend. And inasmuch as Giulio did not enter the service of Ippolito d'Este until 1569, a year after the second edition of the *Lives* was published, the theory that, through ignorance or carelessness, Vasari substituted the name of Alfonso for Ippolito does not seem to be a very tenable one. It is more reasonable to conclude that Giulio worked for Alfonso d'Este before 1568, and that after that date he entered the service of Cardinal Ippolito at Tivoli. Perhaps it was he who produced a beautiful lustred vase, in the Henderson collection, made in imitation of the maiolica of Valencia, which bears on one side the inscription: "*Ill. Sor. Carde. Deste In Ur. Ro.*"

Vasari evidently regarded Giulio as one of the greatest ceramic artists of the age, and there is no reason to doubt his judgment in this matter. Urbino, Rimini, Siena, Ferrara, Rome—in all these places the Urbinate practised his art. His wandering life may be regarded as a type of that which many other fictile artists followed. They went from place to place, influencing artists in the town they visited, bearing with

them sometimes the secrets of new processes, and new designs, and in their turn learning somewhat, in this place or in that, from their more stationary brother artists. And of these wanderers some of the most distinguished practised their art at Siena.

Another native of the Duchy of Urbino who worked in Siena was a certain Fedele. He brought to the city the secret of the black glaze, as well as of a kind of *pâte-sur-pâte* process of which he claimed to be the inventor. He does not seem himself to have been, in the first place, a ceramic artist. In a petition he presented to the Signory of Siena in 1535 asking for a three years' patent, he expressly stated that it was his intention to enter into partnership with some master-potter in order to develop his inventions. He wished, he said, to "*lavorare diversi meschi sopra il negro, et dorare e d'argentare a fuoco.*" "This," he told the authorities, "was a thing that had not been done hitherto in their most noble city."

In this document,¹ then, we find Fedele mentioning three distinct processes. He speaks (1) of a black enamel. Upon this he proposes to make (2) a kind of raised work with diverse compounds, and afterwards (3) *dorare e d'argentare a fuoco* the pieces he had made. All this is easy to understand, except the words *dorare* and *argentare*. On the face of it they would seem to refer to the use of metallic lustre. If so, the word *trovatore* cannot apply to the third process, but only to the first; as in the year 1535 the lustre process had been practised in Italy for some time, and, amongst other places, in Siena itself.

But it seems to me that these words *dorare e*

¹ Arch. di Stato, Siena. *Balia, Deliberazioni*, n. 92, c. 96.

d'argentare do not in this case refer to the lustre process at all. I think that in Fedele stands revealed the hitherto unknown artist who made certain pieces with a peculiar black glaze at Castel Durante and elsewhere, to which Raffaelli and Fortnum allude, and which are enriched not with the metallic lustre, but with gilding, and with subjects painted in oil colours. Of these wares, according to Raffaelli, there is a fine example in the library at Urbania adorned with portraits of a Count Maldini and his wife. Some of the pieces of this class, though not all, are ornamented with work in relief, and it is to this *pâte-sur-pâte* process that Fedele referred when he spoke of working with certain *meschi* over a black ground.

We see, then, that the Faentines were not the only foreign artists that came to Siena. In its flourishing time as a centre of ceramic manufacture, artists from Urbino were also at work in her *botteghe*. Moreover the foreign masters in the city were never more than a small fraction of the makers of artistic wares resident within her walls. Long before any Faentine came to Siena, the native potters had grown to be a large and important body producing artistic wares of the highest order. And the Sienese pottery continued to develop on its own lines throughout the first forty years of the Cinquecento. How important it was can be gathered from a study of the proceedings connected with the compiling of the new Statute of the Art of 1529.¹ We find, then, that there were sixteen *capo-maestri* as well as a number of lesser masters in the city; and of those *capo-maestri* it appears that only one was a foreigner.

¹ The more important clauses are given in Guasti's *Cafaggiolo, e di altre fabbriche di ceramiche in Toscana*, pp. 317-321.

When the commission appointed by the *capo-maestri* had prepared the Statute, they summoned a mass meeting of the *vascai* and *orciolai* in the church of SS. Filippo e Giacomo della Abbazia Nuova, and there it was solemnly approved. So large had this industry become, that already in 1526 the officials of the Signory gave them permission to organise two great public fairs in the city every year, one on the feast of St Mark, and the other on the feast of St Philip and St James.

The character of the wares that were produced in the *botteghe* of native artists is illustrated by a document of the year 1520 that now lies before me. It is an inventory of the *bottega* of a Sienese master, a certain Giovan Battista di Luca. He does not seem to have held any high position amongst the local craftsmen. But the inventory proves that artistic wares were made at his *fabbrica* on a large scale. In it are included nearly a hundred and fifty pieces already glazed and painted, as well as a pavement of *ambrogette*, "*cotti et dipenti*." In addition to these, there are mentioned over four hundred unfinished pieces, in different stages of manufacture, and a considerable stock of tools, colours, and vessels of manufacture. Amongst the finished goods are glazed and decorated pieces of all kinds. We find here the large plates with their richly painted borders, the *alborelli* or medicinal jars, the *scodelle* and *tazzoni*, the painted tiles or *ambrogette*. It appears, then, from this inventory, that this Sienese master, a contemporary and neighbour of Maestro Benedetto, was producing wares of the same class as his foreign rivals and in large quantities. And we know from other documents that the local masters were infinitely more numerous than the potters from Faenza

and Urbino, and held higher positions, too, in the local art guild.

How eager some of the Sienese were to improve the quality of the wares is well illustrated by a passage from a reliable contemporary historian, which tells of a pilgrimage made by a local artist to the Mecca of the true maiolica. Galgano di Belforte, a potter of Siena, anxious to discover the secret of the metallic lustre which adorned the Hispano-Moorish pottery, set out for Spain on a voyage of discovery. On arriving at Valentia he secured the co-operation of a merchant compatriot, Battista Bulgarino, and with his aid "disguised in vile apparel" he obtained employment under a master-potter. There, by using well his opportunities, he succeeded in finding out all his master's trade secrets. And, having accomplished his purpose, on March 15, 1514, he returned rejoicing to his native city. "*Galganus*," says Tizio, writing under that year, "*Senam mense hoc martio reversus est.*"¹

Thus we see that the lustre process was known in Siena at a very early date, and that this method of enrichment was not practised only at Gubbio and Diruta as some have sought to prove. The Sienese masters, in fact, were in nothing behind the potters of other cities. Foreign artists, it is true, were employed there. But in this respect Siena differed not at all from the other great centres of the ceramic art. The master-potters of all the great Italian potteries were anxious to improve the quality of their wares, to employ new processes, to adopt the latest improvements. The ceramic artists of this

¹ Tizio, *Historia*, tom. vii., p. 484, anno 1514.

period were willing to place themselves and their secrets at the disposal of the highest bidder. For these reasons a new process, or an improvement in an old process, adopted in one city almost simultaneously made its appearance in another.

And what is true of processes is true also of designs. Owing largely to the influence of sculptors and painters, designs of certain kinds became fashionable from time to time with ceramic artists. *Grotesche*, for example, are to be found in the products of several potteries in the early years of the Cinquecento. Professor Argnani, finding that some of the plates of Faenza are decorated with designs of this character, at once attributes to the *fabbriche* of his native city all pieces adorned with *grotesche*. But the connoisseur who takes a wider view cannot admit the claim. At Cafaggiolo, to take but one example, plates were produced with *grotesche* painted on their wide borders. But neither Signor Milanesi nor the Cavaliere Gaetano Guasti has found mention of a single Faentine artist in any of the documents relating to the private *fabbrica* there.¹ All the works at Cafaggiolo were produced by, or under the direction of, one family, the Fattorini, and that family did not owe its origin to Faenza.

To Siena, it is true, came several Faentine artists. But it is not at all necessary to assume that the *grotesche* were imported by them from their native town. Nor is it at all certain that the *trofei* on the Sienese tiles were introduced from Urbino. Similar causes acting upon similar temperaments produce similar results. This may seem to be a truism, but it needs to be borne in mind continually by

¹ Guasti, *op. cit.*, pp. 144, 145.

the art historian as well as by the comparative mythologist. The use of these forms was one manifestation of a general movement in decorative design, in which Siena was certainly not behind any other art centre. Already in the middle of the Quattrocento, under the influence of that consummate artist Antonio Federighi, Sienese sculptors had begun to carve *grotesche* and *trofei* of singular beauty. Federighi was followed by Marrina, one of the greatest masters of this class of design that the modern world has seen. Between the years 1500 and 1514 this artist was carving both trophies and grotesques on frieze and pilaster in the churches and palaces of the city. And it is probable that the local ceramic artists were as much influenced by his works at S. Francesco, the Duomo, S. Martino and Fontegiusta, as by any works of foreign artists. For no decorative forms are more suggestive, none more adaptable than these. They are just of the kind that a young student of design would feel tempted to draw. I maintain, then, that the nomadic potters from Faenza and Urbino did not initiate in Siena this movement in ceramic design, they merely helped to carry on a movement that had commenced long before their arrival, some manifestations of which are to be seen in the early tiles of the Bichi chapel.

For many years Siena continued to be an important centre of the ceramic industry. From a document of the year 1565 we gather that at that time a certain Maestro Panduccio del fu Pasquino dei Panducci, rector of the University, was head of the art. And

the local *fabbriche* continued to be active until the close of the century. In 1600 a certain Girolamo di Marco Gioschi almost entirely re-tiled the Oratorio of S. Caterina. It is obvious that by this time the pottery of Siena was already in its period of decline; as the makers of these tiles were content merely to copy the old designs. In several cases the very dates on the earlier *ambrogette* are reproduced. It was not long after this that the manufacture of artistic pottery altogether ceased in the city.

There have been two subsequent revivals of the ceramic art in Siena. The first was under Ferdinando Maria Campani in the eighteenth century. This artist took his designs from Marcantonio's drawings, and from the works of the Carracci. He was the greatest ceramic painter of his time, and succeeded in producing some fine pieces, one of which is at South Kensington.

The second revival took place in the present century under Bernardino Pepi, a chemist of Siena. The good Pepi is accustomed to relate that he was inspired with the idea of attempting to revive the lost art of maiolica on the Feast of St Anthony of Padua, in 1847, as he was hearing mass in the church of S. Francesco. Unfortunately, a project that began under such excellent auspices, and was at one time attended with considerable success, had a very evil result. Signor Pepi succeeded indeed in copying the old *ambrogette*, and he himself always honestly sold his wares as modern imitations. But certain dealers in Siena and other places were not so scrupulous. They succeeded in palming off some of his tiles as real *ambrogette* of the Renaissance, not

merely on the guileless tourist, but on connoisseurs of some reputation. And this fraudulent traffic still continues. But a short time ago, a well-known Sieneſe dealer offered me a large number of theſe *ambrogette*, which he declared were a portion of the pavement removed from the Palazzo del Magnifico. So brazen had the rogue grown in the courſe of a career of ſucceſſful impoſture, that he had not taken the trouble to chip or deface any of the tiles, or in any way to blur their flawless gloſſineſs. They were juſt as ſpick and ſpan as on the day when they left Bernardino Pepi's *fabbrica*. Both Pepi's manufactory and another that grew up in Siena ſome twenty years ago have now entirely diſappeared; but there are ſtill a number of their productions to be ſeen in bric-à-brac ſhops in Florence and Siena.

Thus the great pottery of Siena, after a long and glorious life, which closed in the ſeventeenth century, and two ſubſequent re-incarnations in later ages, ſeems to have come at laſt to an ignominious end. Artistic energy in the city is now taking a different direction. Much carved woodwork and iron gates of good deſign are produced within her walls. And ſome of her ſons ſucceed in manufacturing ſmall triptychs “di Benvenuto di Giovanni,” panels “di Matteo di Giovanni,” and book covers and *caſſoni* “del Quattrocento,” which in ſome caſes are ſo excellently done that they have deceived the very elect, the apoſtles of the new art teaching.

The pottery of Siena was not, we have ſeen, a late-born child of Cafaggiolo and Faenza: it had a very ancient origin. Perhaps, in the firſt place, its potters came from Asciano, where there had been, ſince Roman

times, an offshoot of the great *fabbrica* of Arretium. In the Quattrocento, artists from Siena, like Ventura di Maestro Simone, driven out by stress of competition, went eastwards to introduce new processes into the ancient *fabbriche* of Emilia and the Marches. At the same period Siena became more and more the centre for the production of artistic wares. Towards the close of the century the cities east of the Apennines began to repay the debt to Siena, and artists from Faenza and Urbino came to work in the potteries of the Tuscan town. Amongst these were great masters like Giulio of Urbino and Benedetto of Faenza.

But the *fabbrica* of Siena was never overwhelmed by this influence. It always preserved its own peculiar character, and native ceramic artists always predominated over the immigrant *vasai* within the city's walls. The local potters showed themselves eager to learn and to adopt new processes, and the lustre process was known there at an early date. Here, too, were produced some of those pieces ornamented with raised work on a black ground, which have generally been attributed, and with some reason, to Castel Durante.

In view of the size and number of its *fabbriche* and the amount and quality of their product, it is unreasonable to suppose that the few pieces attributed to Siena in public and private collections are in reality the only existing works that rightfully belong to her. Cafaggiolo, for instance, was but a private pottery of comparatively late origin, a single *fabbrica* carried on by one family of artists, and its total output of artistic wares must have been insignificant compared with the amount of *malioica* produced throughout a long period in the numerous *botteghe* of Siena. And yet, the pieces

attributed to Siena are far outnumbered by those which bear the name of Cafaggiolo. It cannot be doubted that many pieces which now pass for works of Cafaggiolo and Faenza rightfully belong to the Sienese pottery.

In this chapter I have set forth and discussed the documentary evidence I have been able to find in regard to the history of the ceramic art in Siena. It was necessary that such a work should be done, because in the study of that history, *stilkkritik*, unsupported by a knowledge of contemporary documents, has, as in other departments of artistic research, proved a very inadequate guide. A sound criticism takes cognisance of all the evidence attainable, whether it be documentary or derived from a systematic study of artistic style.

On some future occasion I hope to consider more fully the conclusions that I have arrived at in regard to the productions of the Sienese pottery as a result of the application of scientific methods of criticism to a large number of pieces of Italian maiolica, assisted by a study of the marks of her potters and of the heraldic designs to be found on their wares. If in the meantime some Sienese Mæcenæ will promote excavations on an adequate scale, it may soon be possible to place the pottery of Siena in its right position in the history of the ceramic art.

CHAPTER XX

LITERATURE AND SCIENCE IN SIENA

SIENA has never played an important part in literary history. No Italian writer of the highest rank has ever owned Siena as his birthplace. The emotions of this emotional people never found perfect expression in words. Why it was that the Sieneſe did not produce great literature, and were not, for the moſt part, lovers of literature, is a queſtion which can only receive a brief and inadequate answer here. There are, it ſeems to me, three chief reaſons for the fact that Siena was not, at leaſt before the ſixteenth century, a centre of literary activity.

First of all, the Sieneſe waſted their energies in political ſtrife. Sometimes literary maſterpieces have been produced in a period of heated political or religious conflict. The *Faërie Queen* was written in part in the Ireland of Elizabeth's day. But the atmosphere of controversy, political or theological, is not loved by the Muses. Students of English Literature will recall the literary barrenneſs of the reigns of Edward VI and of Mary: they will remember how Milton's Muſe ſtopped her ſinging when the trumpets began to blow; and for years only opened her mouth to utter brief, infrequent ſongs.

In other ways, too, the mental atmosphere of

Siena was not inspiring and exhilarating to men of letters. The Sienese were not a literary people. They developed, it is true, a popular drama. But, amongst the innumerable plays written by her sons in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there are few that show any traces of literary genius. Their devotion to the drama was based upon their love of spectacle and pageantry. The innumerable dramatic societies and clubs that sprang up in the city in the eve of her fall, and in the age that followed it, owed their origin, for the most part, to this spectacular tendency of the people, as well as to their social instincts, and to that love of playing the fool to which many pseudo-literary societies owe their origin to-day. The Sienese had no love of literature for its own sake. Until the eighteenth century there was no good library in Siena. Those of her sons who did become great scholars and thinkers did not attain to excellence until they left her. There was, it is true, a flourishing civic university in the city; but that university was founded and maintained to provide the State with good lawyers and doctors. A work of art to please the Sienese had to be outwardly and visibly beautiful. It had to make a direct appeal to the lust of the eye.

Thirdly, the government of Siena was essentially democratic. Except for one brief period of time, no native tyrant established his rule within her walls. Now, whilst royal and aristocratic patronage has often proved injurious to literature, it cannot be denied that it has frequently created conditions favourable to the production of great works of art. At the court of the house of Este, under the roof of the stately palace of the Dukes of Urbino, at Florence in the

age of the Medici, authors found the leisure and the freedom from pressing pecuniary anxiety which, though not indispensable to the creation of literary masterpieces, are certainly conducive to it.

Siena in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, poor and turbulent as she was, proved no fitting home for the Muses. But though the city was never a great literary centre, yet, in the early dawn of Italian literature, her sons were amongst the first to use the common tongue as a medium of literary expression. Here, as elsewhere, the first emotions to find beautiful utterance in that tongue were the emotions of love, the religious emotions and the patriotic emotions—a people's pride in the prowess of its heroes: the first literary effort of the Sienese were songs of passion, religious stories, and accounts in verse and prose of the gests of her warriors. Here as elsewhere in Italy, poets and prose-writers began by imitating the works of the Provençals and the French. The poets adopted and adapted the measures of the troubadours and the *trouvères*. The prose-writers translated the romances and the religious biographies and tales of the north-French writers.

Songs of love sang Folcacchiero de' Folcacchieri, knight of Siena. And though he did not make Italian verses at as early a date as patriotic Tuscans once maintained, yet he was one of the earliest of Italian poets, writing his passionate *canzoni* in the first half of the golden thirteenth century. Like many another lover, Folcacchiero came to write in the common tongue "because of his wish to make himself understood of a certain lady unto whom Latin poetry was difficult."¹

¹ Dante, *La vita Nuova*, § 25.

His object was to persuade—to compose something that would induce his mistress to take pity on him:—

“ Gentle my lady, after I am gone
 There will not come another, it may be,
 To show thee love like mine :
 For nothing can I do, neither have done,
 Except that proves that I belong to thee
 And am a thing of thine.
 Be it not said that I
 Despaired and perished then ;
 But pour thy grace, like rain,
 On him who is burned up, yea visibly.”¹

It was for similar reasons that writers whose purpose was religious edification expressed themselves in the common tongue. They also wished to persuade—to convince those who were ignorant of Latin. In the thirteenth century an anonymous Sieneſe, probably a priest, wrote in Tuscan ſeveral devout tales,² moſtly translated from the French.³

Siena, too, was not without her *trouvères*, her *joculatores*, who ſang the brave deeds of her ſons, imitating the old French *chansons de geste*. Such was that Giudaloste of Pistoia, who, in 1255, ſang the ſtory of the capture of Torriella.⁴ Nor were the victories of Siena unrelated in proſe. *La Sconfitta di*

¹ Rossetti, *Collected Works*, London, 1887, vol. ii., p. 256. In quoting Folcacchiero and Cecco Angiolieri I have uſed Rossetti's translations where poſſible. In the caſe of poems Rossetti did not translate, I quote the original Italian. Experience has taught me how difficult a thing it is to render ſatisfactorily into Engliſh Italian verſe of this period.

For ſome account of Folcacchiero, ſee C. Mazzi's *F. Folcacchieri, rimatore ſenese del ſecolo xiii.*, Florence, Le Monnier, 1878.

² F. Zambrini. *Dodici conti morali d'anonimo Senese . . . teſto ined. del ſec. xiii.*, Bologna, Romagnoli, 1862.

³ Köhler, *Zeitschrift für rom. Philol.*, I., 365.

⁴ D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale della Letteratura Italiana*, Florence, 1898, vol. i., pp. 25, 26.

Montaperti is one of the most vivid of early Italian historical narratives. It has not the prolixity, the formlessness, of most mediæval chronicles. It is no bare record of facts mostly unimportant. It has a distinct architectonic and literary quality. All its parts are related and in proper proportion. The author gives a life-like picture of an important series of events in his people's history. *La Sconfitta di Montaperti* might almost be called the prose epic of Siena.¹

The chief of Siena's poets was Cecco Angiolieri, Cecco "the scamp of Dante's circle." Cecco came of an old Sienese family.² His grandfather was that Angioliero Solafiche, of whom I have already spoken,³ who was banker to Gregory IX, and whose house still stands in the Via del Re. His father, who, in his middle life, had been one of the priors of the Twenty-four, and had held other public offices, became, in his old age, one of the *Frati Gaudenti*, a lay order, whose members renounced all share in political and civic life. Angiolieri was a miser, Cecco his son was a spendthrift and a Bohemian.

Of Cecco's own life we have but little knowledge beyond what can be gleaned from his sonnets. In the year 1288 he took part, like Dante, in the war of Arezzo, and fought on the same side as the great poet

¹ As I have already stated in Chapter VI, I regard this chronicle as being in the main a thirteenth-century work.

² Massèra, *La patria e la vita di Cecco Angiolieri*; in the *Bull. Sen. di Stor. Patria*, anno viii., fasc. iii., pp. 435-452. The Cavaliere Girolamo Mancini of Cortona sought to prove that Cecco Angiolieri was a Cortonese. Massèra has shown that Cecco Angiolieri of Cortona was a different person, to the poet. Mancini first sought to establish the case for Cortona in his *Cortona nel medio evo* (Florence, 1897). He amplified his argument in his opusculè *Il contributo del Cortonesi alla coltura Italiana* (Florence, 1898).

³ See p. 33.

whose enemy he was destined to become. Cecco knew how to use the knife as well as the sword. Three years after the war of Arezzo, he was one of the defendants in a stabbing case. He was, indeed, a reckless, wild-living fellow. But he was no hypocrite. He was frank to a fault. In his sonnets we find an uncompromisingly realistic picture of his own disorderly life, of his unhappy home, of his illicit love for a woman of the people. The two emotions which find most frequent expression in his sonnets are his hatred of his parents and his passion for Becchina. One of Boccaccio's tales¹ confirms the impression of his personality which his sonnets leave upon the reader.

In Cecco's defence it may be urged that, if he did have an illicit amour, he was loyal on the whole to one woman, which is more than can be said of the majority of his poet-contemporaries, or of some eminently respectable singers of the Victorian age who have each addressed love-verses to half-a-score ladies. In Cecco's many sonnets published and unpublished we find but one name, the name of that irresistible little tyrant Becchina. The Sienese, too, whilst far inferior to Dante as a poet, understood better himself and his own emotions. His verses have not that air of unreality and self-deception which spoils the effect of some of the lines in the *Vita Nuova*.

The world has scarcely done justice to Cecco Angiolieri. To me his sonnets, looked at as a revelation of personality, rank only a little below the *Diary* of Pepys and the *Autobiography* of Cellini. They do not reveal a heroic or noble personality. But, after reading his poems, I seem to know Cecco as an intimate friend.

¹ Boccaccio, *Decamerone*, ix. 4.

The whole story of his life lies open before me, and I understand it.

I see first his well-to-do bourgeois parents, selfish, miserly, and Puritanical with a Puritanism that was due to physiological as well as to psychological causes, resembling somewhat that of some of our own quondam military and naval dandies, who, having in their gold-braided, tinsel youth run through the whole gamut of fashionable vice, in a frigid, exhausted old age damn the sins they are no longer inclined to, but do not renounce the worse sins of hatred, malice, uncharitableness, censoriousness and intolerance. We see, too, these disagreeable old Angiolieri joining a religious society, which, under the pretence of excusing its members from troubling themselves with carnal matters, released them from the duty of serving the State, and from taking any part in the public life of the city. Thus were they able to indulge to the full the selfishness and avarice of their unsympathetic, unloving natures. We see these same parents, without natural love, without kind generous impulses, rigidly observing fasts, singing psalms and reciting offices, but having no regard for the happiness of their fellows, only eager to avoid the fires of hell, not caring how uncomfortable they made this world to those nearest to them provided that they won for themselves a good place in the next.

In this narrow, joyless home, with these crabbed, loveless, old people, grew up the wild Cecco—Cecco with his impulsive, impressionable nature, his hatred of cant, his terrible faculty for seeing things as they were, and for expressing what he saw with a candour pitiless alike to himself and to others. Can we not understand how he must have been hated by conven-

tional religionists, by his parents, and by the specious hypocrites, lay and clerical, who frequented their house? How Cecco's sharp laugh must have ripped through their Pecksniffian garb, and revealed for a moment these solemn masqueraders blushing with wrath and shame, *in puris naturalibus!*

Finding neither joy nor love at home, Cecco endeavours to satisfy his craving for both outside. He associates with reckless young men like himself. He seeks pleasure in wine, women, and play. At last he falls in love with Becchina, pretty Becchina the shoemaker's daughter. And Becchina helps to make him a poet. "Whoso looks on her face," he says, "if he be old gets back his youth again. God had nothing else to do when He made her, so precious is she, so beautifully wrought." Whoso doubts the poet's word, "let him see her, let him hear her speak, and all his doubts will be dispelled."

In Becchina's presence Cecco forgets his miserable home, his unnatural parents. What days of delight he passed with her down in Fontebranda! Speaking of one of these joyous days, he says:—

". . . . The stars are fewer in heaven's span
Than all those kisses wherewith I kept tune,
All in an instant (I who now have none!)
Upon her mouth (I and no other man!)
So sweetly on the twentieth day of June,
In the new year twelve hundred ninety-one."

But Becchina is fond of a guinea as well as of a kiss. "She wants so much of all that's nice, that not Mohammed himself could yield enough. Whoever without money is in love," exclaims the poet, "had better buy himself a gallows and go hang."

Dante in his own lordly way chided Cecco for his too-frank sonnets on Becchina. Very distasteful were they to the Florentine poet. Cecco regarded Dante as an officious Platonic humbug, an odious, superior person, who was, like many superior persons, something of a charlatan. He retorts upon Beatrice's lover in a sonnet full of violent abuse, telling him that he is a hypocrite, and a prig, and that he will show him in his true colours.

Unstable as water, Cecco sometimes denounces Love and all his ways. Thus does he utter treason against his lord :—

“Love is no lord of mine, I'm proud to vouch,
So let no woman who is born conceive
That I'll be her liege slave, as I see some,
Be she as fair and dainty as she will.
Too much of love makes idiots, I believe.
I like not any fashion that turns glum
The heart, and makes the visage sick and ill.”

But the mood does not last long. We soon find him singing—

“Whatever good is naturally done
Is born of Love as fruit is born of flower :
By Love all good is brought to its full power.
Yea, Love does more than this ; for he finds none
So coarse but from his touch some grace is won,
And the poor wretch is altered in an hour.
So let it be decreed that Death devour
The beast who says that Love's a thing to shun.
A man's just worth the good that he can hold,
And where no love is found, no good is there ;
On that there's nothing that I would not stake.
So now, my sonnet, go as you are told
To lovers and their sweethearts everywhere,
And say I made you for Becchina's sake.”

Cecco has, too, his fits of depression and remorse. He is past all help, he says. It is no good repenting and trying to do better. "I'm down," he says, "and cannot rise in any way ;"

"For not a creature of my nearest kin
Would hold me out a hand that I could reach."

Thinking to assist their scapegrace son to settle down, they marry him to a woman he does not love.

"Poi quando io fui cresciuto, mi fu dato,
Per mia ristorazion, moglie che garre
Da anzi di insino al ciel stellato,
E'l suo garrir paion mille chitarre."

His wife never ceased chattering. Nor was that all. She plastered herself over with paints and enamels, hoping to make herself appear beautiful in the eyes of the world. In her the poet found another painted person, one who tried to appear what she was not. No doubt she went to mass regularly; whilst every morning before setting forth she enamelled herself, with the object of inciting men to break the seventh commandment, in the spirit if not in the letter.

Cecco still continued his amour with the shoemaker's daughter, who was another man's wife. Still the chief subjects of his songs were his love of Becchina and his hatred of his parents.

At last the long-wished-for event took place. Cecco's father died. The poet thought that his days of poverty were now over, and that he would be able to spend what he liked upon Becchina. "I declare," he exclaims,

"That now my state of glory doth begin,
For Messer Angiolieri's slipped his skin."

But he is mistaken. His mother holds the family property, and treats him just as his father had done. She continues to be as ostentatiously devout as ever, and establishes as her confidant and adviser a thirteenth-century Stiggins, a certain Mino Zeppo. The hypocrite Mino foments her anger against her son for his own purposes. In vain does the poet demand a share of his patrimony from Mino. Cecco is a man of wrath. He is not fit to live, much less to have the command of money.

Hating his mother, and hated by her, the poet charges her with trying to poison him because he had sought to obtain a share of his father's estate. He hints that she wished it all to go to the fawning Mino.

But the converted *bourgeois*, like the converted Calvinist, frequently shows a tendency to react, a tendency which is aggravated by prosperity. After the death of his mother, Cecco was a man of substance. He had a stake in the country. Like some French Bohemians and English Fabians of our own day, who, in their hot youth, made war upon *bourgeois* doctrines and *bourgeois* conventions, Cecco in his later life placed himself under the yoke he had once scorned. He also seems to have attained to his "New Place," and his "Cecco Angiolieri, Gent." We learn from documents in the Sienese Archives that in the early years of the fourteenth century, he was a man of property. But, as has been the case with some poets of a similar temperament in more recent times, the process of reformation killed the poet in him. We have but one or two sonnets expressing the decorous emotions of the reformed Cecco. To the world of literature

he will always be known as Becchina's somewhat disreputable lover.¹

After Cecco Angiolieri, Siena had many versifiers, but no poet, even of the second rank. The greatest names in her literary history, in the course of the last two centuries of her existence as an independent state, are either tellers of stories or writers of letters and autobiographical compositions. Amongst the letter-writers S. Catherine is pre-eminent. In literary history, she occupies a position only less important than that she holds in ecclesiastical history. Her letters² are, as D'Ancona says, superior to all the numerous ascetic and religious letters of the time. In their freedom of judgment and of speech, in the virility (it is her own word) of temperament they reveal, in their unaffected, passionate fervour, they are as far as possible removed from the composition of the ordinary feminine writer of pious literature. Nor, though they were treated with contempt by the Accademia della Crusca, are they wanting in beauty of form. They are written in the good Sienese dialect, in an easy, natural style. In reading them it seems as though the young saint were talking to us, conversing with us on the one subject she loved, a subject that is inexhaustible. And inexhaustible, too, was the glow and fire of her emotion.

A writer of a very different temper was Fra Filippo. S. Catherine had discoursed ceaselessly on love.

¹ D'Ancona's article, *Cecco Angiolieri da Siena, poeta umorista del secolo decimoterzo*, originally published in the *Nuova Antologia* in 1872, and afterwards, with other essays, in *Studi di critica e storia letteraria*, is still the best account of the Sienese poet.

² The first collection of them was published at Bologna in 1492. The best edition is that of Tommaseo (Florence, Barbèra, 1860),

“Amore” was the word that was constantly on her lips. In the fiend-haunted groves of Lecceto, the Augustinian, Fra Filippo, had learnt a very different message. He was filled with a sense of the power and omnipresence of the devil. “Devil” was the word that was continually in his mouth. His *Assempri*¹ are full of interest to students of demonology.

In literature Fra Filippo ranks with the story-tellers, with the authors of religious *novelle*. He is a successor of the unknown Sienese writers of *conti devoti*. He was a good narrator; and, though far inferior in that respect as in others to San Bernardino, he had his own peculiar vein. Like San Bernardino, he is utterly without squeamishness, or even proper reticence. He describes the sins he denounces with a frankness and fulness which even the novelists of Siena, his compatriots and compeers, did not surpass.

The greatest of Sienese story-tellers, sacred or profane, was San Bernardino. The sermons that he preached in the year 1427 were taken down in shorthand by a certain Benedetto. They are full of *novelle* admirably told. His vocabulary is very wide. Here and there he happily introduces local slang. Passages of true eloquence are to be found in his discourses; but it was as a story-teller that he excelled. He was a born raconteur. He was able to meet the demand of the inhabitants of Renaissance Italy for histories, and at the same time to advance the cause he had at heart. He had a curiously interesting personality; and some of the best stories that he tells are about

¹ For Fra Filippo and the *Assempri*, read Heywood's learned work, *The Ensamles of Fra Filippo of Siena*, Siena, Torrini, 1901; Marenduzzo, *Gli Assempri di Fra Filippo da Siena*, 1899; and Carpellini's edition of the *Assempri* (Siena, Gati 1864).



S. BERNARDINO PREACHING IN THE PIAZZA OF S. FRANCESCO.
In the Sala del Capitolo (Sano di Pietro).

[Alinari.]

[To face p. 470.]

himself. The student of ecclesiastical history is indebted both to Thureau-Dangin and to Alessio. But the life of San Bernardino remains to be written. We have had presented to us the official Catholic view of the saint. We know San Bernardino the orthodox mission preacher, the saintly minister to the sick and the suffering. But we have not had a complete portrait of the man. We want to know more of San Bernardino the *novelliere*, a novelist as fearless in his naturalism as Boccaccio himself; of San Bernardino, the friend of Leonardo Bruni and Ambrogio Traversari, of Manetti, and Filelfo, and Poggio, who shared with these leaders of the new movement their passion for ancient codices; of San Bernardino the Christian humanist.

San Bernardino has been handled with kid gloves. Certain of his biographers have dealt with him in the same way that some Protestant hagiographers have treated Latimer and Luther. Estimable writers with a purpose, anxious to advance their cause, and to write a book which could not offend modern sensibilities, have left back half the truth, and have given us a garbled and bowdlerised San Bernardino. At present the best portrait of the saint is to be found in his own sermons.

At the feet of the strong, fearless, humbug-hating saint of Siena sat a young humanist of noble family. Æneas Sylvius was not altogether uninfluenced spiritually by the great Franciscan preacher. But still, for some time, he continued to be of the world worldly. The ambitious young man learnt, however, from San Bernardino the value of eloquence. The saint had a considerable share in the formation of the

style of the greatest man of letters of his age. Unfortunately, the future Pope did not follow San Bernardino in his devotion to his native tongue; he employed Latin as a medium of expression. Had his more important works been written in good Tuscan, it is probable that he would have rivalled the greatest masters of Italian prose. Æneas was also a *novelliere*, and wrote the story of the loves of Eurialo and Lucrezia, a true tale, which describes an adventure which befell Gasparo Selik, Chancellor to Frederick III, when he was in Siena.¹

But Æneas Sylvius' *Commentaries*² are his most important work. In this book he has interwoven a good deal of his own experience and of past history with a relation of the most memorable events of his own time. We find in it beautiful pictures of natural scenery, quite modern in spirit, of the snowy Apennines, of Monte Oliveto, of the Valley of Petriolo, of his own beloved Monte Amiata. We have descriptions of ecclesiastical processions, and of public sports and festivals. Æneas Sylvius was no mere bookworm, no pedant. Scholar as he was, he was very sensitive to outward impressions, he was keenly interested in the events of his own age and country.

At the time of the Renaissance there sprang up all over Italy writers who sought to satisfy the popular craving for stories. Siena was not without its *novellieri*. In the fifteenth century flourished

¹ This work was translated into many languages. A great many Italian editions of it have appeared since 1489. It was first translated into Tuscan by Alessandro Bracci, secretary of the Florentine Republic, who dedicated his version to Lorenzo de' Medici.

² G. Lesca's *I commentari di Pio II.* (Pisa, Nistri, 1894) is a useful if not a very learned or very brilliant work.

Ilicino and Gentile Sermini, the best of the non-religious story-tellers that the city produced. In the following age wrote Fortini, Nelli, the friend of Aretino and Ochino, and Bargagli, who has left us terrible pictures of the siege of Siena.

The tales of the Sieneſe *novellieri* were laſcivious beyond thoſe of their compeers in other cities; but they were, on the whole, leſs coarſe and revolting. In their works are to be found many beautiful tales, ſuch as the ſtory of Angelica Montanini and Anſelmo Salimbeni, and the ſtory of Ippolito Saracini and Cangenova Salimbeni. Sermini and Bargagli are almoſt entitled to a place in the front rank of Italian noveliſts.

Of the proſe-authors of Siena that flouriſhed in the ſixteenth century thoſe who won the greateſt fame were theological writers. But it was not the cauſe of Catholicism they ſerved, but Proteſtantism. Bernardino Ochino, Paleario, and Lelio and Fausto Sozzini, the founders of Socinianism, played an important part in the religious movement of their age.

The Sieneſe were not, as I have ſaid, a literary people; but, from an early date in their hiſtory, they had ſhown a love of ſpectacles and pageants.¹ Here as elſewhere the drama grew out of the religious life of the people. It developed naturally out of the proceſſions and offices of the Church. But at a comparatively early date, dramatic ſpectacles alſo formed a part of great civic feſtivals. The canonisation of San Bernardino in the year 1444, Æneas Sylviuſ Piccolomini's elevation to the Papacy in the year 1458,

¹ For the hiſtory of the drama in Siena, ſee C. Mazzi, *La Congrega dei Rozzi di Siena*, Florence, Le Monnier, 1882, 2 vols.

the canonisation of S. Catherine in 1461, the visit of the Duchess of Calabria in 1465, the alliance of the Sieneſe with the Pope and with Naples in 1478—all theſe events were honoured by dramatic representations organised by the *Consiglio Generale*.

In the early years of the ſixteenth century, the Italian drama entered upon a new era of development. Ariosto and Machiavelli and Bernardo Dovizii da Bibbiena wrote plays in imitation of claſſical models. The new movement ſoon reached Siena. Associations, composed of young tradesmen and artiſans, were formed for the composing and acting of plays. Theſe plays, whiſt owing ſomething to claſſical influences, were popular in form. They met a real demand, and ſoon brought high patronage to their authors. In the year 1517 a company of Sieneſe actors was ſummoned from Rome to perform before Leo X. Two years later another Sieneſe company was engaged by Agostino Chigi and his wife Francesca.¹

Out of one of theſe associations of amateur players and playwrights grew the greateſt of Sieneſe academies, the *Congrega dei Rozzi*. This *Congrega* was definitely organised in 1531; and in the ſecond quarter of the ſixteenth century there ſprang up in Siena a large number of ſimilar academies and ſocieties. A genuine literary movement had, at laſt, begun in the city in the time of Pandolfo Petrucci, a movement ſpringing from the people. It did not lead to the production of literary works of the higheſt order. But it did very much alter the tone of Sieneſe ſociety. And the leaders of this movement combined with the patrons of the drama to found associations whoſe object was

¹ Mazzi, *op. cit.*, vol. i., pp. 74, 75.

to organise dramatic and musical performances, literary and philosophical discussions, and debates, sometimes of a somewhat trivial character. Before the close of the century there were more than twenty of these academies in Siena, the chief of which were the *Rozzi*, the *Intronati*, and the *Insipidi*.¹ Some of them had a very short life. Some degenerated into mere social clubs, not always of a very orderly kind. But there were a few of them which tended to raise the standard of culture in the city and to swell the numbers of those who were devoted to literature and science. The dramatic clubs produced a few good comedies, the best of which was *Gl' Ingannati*, a play not unknown to students of Shakespeare.²

In philosophy and science, Siena can boast a few distinguished names. Patrizi was one of these great teachers of the Renaissance who prepared the way for the triumph of the inductive method. He wrote upon physics, astronomy and geometry. An innovator and a pioneer he certainly was. But he was rash, superficial, and self-confident, and little of his work had permanent value.

Amongst the many distinguished medical men Siena produced in the years of her independence, Ugo Bensi and Pier Antonio Mattioli were pre-eminent. Ugo Bensi won for himself fame as a high authority on dietetics and hygiene. His *Consiglio Medici*, his *Natura dei Cibi*, and his *Trattato sul Reggimento della Salute* were widely read in other countries than Italy.

¹ For an account of these academies, see Mazzi, *op. cit.*, Appendix v., pp. 339-430.

² *Twelfth Night* has certain resemblances to *Gl' Ingannati*. It is doubtful whether Shakespeare knew the Italian play.

Mattioli is chiefly known for his version of the *Commentaries* of Discorides, a work which was translated into many languages, and passed through many editions.

In military science and engineering, Francesco di Giorgio was the most brilliant and original writer of his day. He occupies an important place in the history of the art of war. His follower, Vangoccio Biringucci, the author of the *Pirotecnica*, carried on the work begun by Francesco di Giorgio.

The most distinguished of Sienese historians, Malavolti, did not write his great work until after the fall of the Republic. His achievement, therefore, lies outside the scope of the present chapter. But I cannot close this history without paying a tribute to one to whose work I owe so much. I know of no historian of so early a date as the sixteenth century who had such a scrupulous regard for accuracy, or who made so wide, so conscientious, and so discreet a use of original sources of information. Malavolti was certainly not without bias; but he was on the whole very fair-minded, and only a rash and ignorant reader would hastily question his statements. He had no pretensions to style; but he is always intelligent, temperate, sober, and clear-headed; and his brief, infrequent comments on events show that he was a man of some strength and independence of thought. Siena is slow to pay honour to her great men. Even Quercia is without any monument save his own masterpieces. When she does bethink herself to commemorate them fitly, she might do worse than raise some public memorial to Orlando Malavolti.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE FACADE OF SIENA CATHEDRAL

DOCUMENTS

(a) Neri di Donato, *Cronica Sanese*. In Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, tom. xv., c. 220 :—

“La loggia del Vescovado di Siena, che era in sul canto del Duomo, che era in fuore in fino alla via, si guastò, e questo si fe' per avere maggior piazza per mostrare le reliquie.”

(b) Neri di Donato, *ed. cit.*, c. 241 :—

“El vescovo di Siena ebbe dal Comuno di Siena fiorini 1356 per danno ricevè d'una loggia, che el Comuno di Siena guastò del detto Vescovado per fare la capella di S. Jacomo in Duomo, e per accresciare el Duomo.”

(c) Arch. di Stato, Siena. *Libro dei Regolatori*, 1367-1377, fol. 200^t, *et seq.* :—

“Al tempo di Missere Niccholo di Ghidi oparaio e Ambruogio di Benencasa Camarlengho de la detta opera da dì primo di Luglio anno Domini MCCC^{lxx} fino a dì ultimo di Giugno MCCC^{lxxj}.

Anco troviamo che à pagato in fare disfare la loggia dell vescovo et per sgrombrare la piazza de la detta loggia mille quarantuna lib: uno sol. M^{xlj}. sol j.”

(d) Arch. di Stato, Siena. *Arch. dell' opera del Duomo di Siena*. *Libro nero*, 51. In

Milanesi, *Documenti dell' arte Senese*, vol. i., pp. 276, 277:—

“CHRISTO 1377.

Sia manifesto a chiunque vedarà questa ischitura (sic) chome a dì ro di Giugnio anno sopradeto, io Pietro di Migliore, ispeziale, uoparaio de l'uopara Sancte Marie, ritenni uno chonsiglio di questi cittadini nominati di soto, per avere loro consiglio e loro dilibarazione sopra la faciata dinanzi a lo Spedale, cholà dñe era la logia del vescovo; perchè chosì ragunati e veduto il modo, dilibararo tuti di concordia a lupini bianchi e neri; e furo tutti bianchi, salvo che tre neri: e di ciò si fecie proposta gieneralmente ch' ongnuo (sic) potese chonseigliare: perchè fata la proposta, chonsigliò missere Bindo di Tengoccio Talomei che chosì si faciese, come è manifesto a tuti i cittadini, faciendosi la piana dinanzi.”

[Here follow twenty-six names.]

(e) Arch. di Stato, Siena. *Arch. dell' opera del Duomo di Siena. Libro nero*, 51^t. In Milanesi, *Documenti dell' arte Senese*, vol. i., pp. 278, 279:—

“Christo 1377.

Sia manifesto a chiunque vedarà questa ischrita come io Pietro di Migliore, ispeziale, oparaio de l'opera Sante Marie aloghai a *Jacomo di Buonfredi*, chiamato *Corbella*, tuto i' lavorio che bisogna ne la faciata dinanzi a lo Spedale Sante Marie, chola duve era la logia di marmo bianco con questi pati di soto iscritti: presente Maestro Giovanni di Ciecho, chapomaestro de l' uopara e di (sic) Maestro *Domenico* di Maestro *Vanni* e di Maestro *Minuccio* di *Jacomo* e di Maestro *Francescho* di *Ser Antonio*,

In prima le pietre drite di mezo braccio, e da inde in giù chole spalette de le porte, cinque soldi il braccio.

Ancho, deba avere cho' l'archeto piano da le 'nposte in su in due pezi o in uno che gli venisse chol bechatello, trenta soldi l'uno.

Ancho, deba, avere de la cornicie che vada di sopra, tornata concia chome chela ch'ene, dicie soldi del braccio in petraia.

Ancho, deba avere d'ogni altro lavoriò che vi bisongniase di marmo bianco, quello che giudicharà l'oparaio ch'è o che sarà per li tempi, col chapo maestro, e chon uno altro maestro che verà appreso di sè.

Fata adi vintenove di Setembre 1377."

APPENDIX II

THE MADONNA OF GUIDO DA SIENA

THE *Madonna* of Guido da Siena, formerly in the Church of San Domenico at Siena, and now in the Palazzo Pubblico of that town, bears the following inscription:—

✠ ME GUIDO DE SENIS DIEBUS DEPINXIT AMENIS
 QVEM XPS LENIS NVLLIS VELIT AGERE PENIS
 ANO D' M^o CC XX I.

This picture has been the subject of controversy since the days of Baldinucci, and, though the question of its date has ceased to be of much importance, seeing that the priority of the Siennese school over the Florentine can be proved without the evidence of this *Madonna*, nevertheless it is still eagerly debated.

In the last century, Gaetano Milanesi, the editor of Vasari's *Lives*, and, after him, the Cavaliere A. Lisini, the learned Siennese archivist, contended that the date

upon the picture cannot be correct, that the inscription must have been tampered with. Professor Franz Wyckhoff maintains that the inscription is genuine. The present writer, after carefully examining the inscription, is of the opinion that it is the least-restored part of the picture. The evidence of the picture itself gives no grounds for supposing that any figure has been painted over, or rubbed out, as Milanese contended. It is obvious that the *onus probandi* rests with those who assert that the inscription has been tampered with. I contend that they have not by any means proved their case.

Milanese argues, in the first place, that there are no other Sienese pictures of an earlier date than 1270 of anything like the same artistic merit.

As the figures of the Madonna and the Child have been entirely repainted, it is difficult to say what the original character of the work was. But that there was a flourishing school of art in Siena before the days of Duccio is now certain. Since Milanese wrote his monograph on the San Domenico *Madonna*, several important thirteenth-century pictures have come to light in Siena and its neighbourhood. Some of these were formerly in the magazines of the Siena Gallery: others were hidden in country churches. We have enough evidence now to convince us that before Duccio's artistic career began there was an important school of painters in Siena, a school whose masters produced such pictures as the *S. Pietro* in the Siena Gallery and the *Madonna del Voto* in the Cathedral.

Milanese also made much of the fact that in the Sienese archives no reference is to be found to any painter bearing the name of Guido in any document of an earlier date than 1278. In the books of the Biccherna of the year 1278, mention is made of a payment to a certain Guido di Graziano, a painter. Milanese concluded that this Guido was the painter of the *Madonna* of the Palazzo Pubblico.

But because no painter who bore the name of Guido is to be found in any existing document in Siena of an earlier date than 1278, it does not at all follow that an

artist who bore that name was not at work in the city. The documentary evidence relating to the history of Sienese art in the first half of the thirteenth century is by no means abundant. There were undoubtedly several great artists in the city in that period whose names are not to be found in any existing documents. We know nothing of the painters of the best of the Sienese pictures before Duccio. We do not know the name of the architect of the Duomo.

In Milanese's own large collection of documents relating to the history of Sienese art, the first document is of the year 1259, and in the supplementary volume edited by Borghese and Banchi there is only one document of an earlier date than 1264. I do not speak too strongly when I say that this argument is absolutely worthless.

Nor was Milanese justified in jumping to the conclusion that Guido di Graziano was the Guido who painted the *Madonna* of San Domenico. This is not by any means the only case in which the learned archivist found some common name in a document or register such as Giovanni or Paolo and at once concluded that it referred to some great artist bearing that name. There may have been several artists of the name of Guido working in Siena in the early half of the Dugento.

I shall not waste time in refuting Milanese's argument that the inscription must be of a later date than 1221 because it is in Gothic characters. Nor can any argument against the genuineness of the inscription be based upon the fact that there is a gap between the second C and the first X, and another between the second X and the I. In many inscriptions of this period we find gaps between the hundreds and the tens, and again between the tens and the units.

Milanese certainly did not prove his case. Lisini, however, in upholding the theory that this inscription has been tampered with, has brought forward an argument somewhat weightier than any of those advanced by Milanese.

He has found a picture of the year 1270

in the Siena Gallery which bears an inscription similar to that on the *Madonna* of Guido. The inscription, or rather what remains of it, runs as follows :—

. ✠ AMENIS QVEM XPS LENIS NVLLIS
VELIT ANGERE PENIS ANNO MILLESIMO DVCEN-
TESIMO SEPTVAGESIMO.

This inscription does not differ from that of the *Madonna* of Guido da Siena, except that in the latter the word *ANGER*E is written *AGER*E.

Lisini argues (*a*) that the two pictures are by the same artist, by Guido da Siena; (*b*) that it is impossible that he could have painted the two pictures “at a distance of time of nearly fifty years”; (*c*) that the *Madonna* of the Palazzo Pubblico must have been painted after the *Madonna* in the Gallery, because it is a better picture.

Admitting for the sake of argument that the two pictures are by the same artist, it is not incredible that the one was painted in 1221 and the other in 1270. It is quite possible that Guido had as long an artistic career as that of Titian, or Watts, or even Père Corot. It is easy to mention a score of distinguished painters of the nineteenth century whose period of work extended over more than half a century. The *Madonna* of the Siena Gallery, it is true, is painted in a harder, more conventional style than the *Madonna* of the Palazzo Pubblico; but the graces and modernities—such as they are—of the more famous picture owe their origin no doubt to a later hand. For the figures of the *Madonna* of 1221 have, as I have said, been entirely repainted.

But because the *Madonna* of 1270 bears a similar inscription to the picture in the Palazzo Pubblico, it does not follow that the two pictures are by the same painter. When art was so much of a handicraft as it was in the age before Duccio, when pupils were accustomed to copy patiently every detail of their master's pictures, when originality amongst painters

was rare, and imitativeness a virtue, it is not at all inconceivable that an artist copied word for word an inscription on an earlier altar-piece, an altar-piece painted perhaps by his master or even by his own father.

I hold then that not only has it not been demonstrated that the date of the *Madonna* of the Palazzo Pubblico has been tampered with, but that no strong presumption has been established in favour of such a theory.

APPENDIX III

THE RUCELLAI MADONNA

IN a footnote to an article on Giotto, published in the *Monthly Review* for December 1900 (p. 147), Mr Roger Fry enumerates certain "peculiarities" of the Rucellai *Madonna* which are not to be found, he states, in the works of Duccio. "The eye," he says, "has the upper eyelid strongly marked; it has a peculiar languishing expression, due in part to the large elliptical iris (Duccio's eyes have a small, bright, round iris with a keen expression); the nose is distinctly articulated into three segments; the mouth is generally slewed round from the perpendicular; the hands are curiously curved, and in all the Madonnas clutch the supports of the throne; the hair bows seen upon the haloes have a constant and quite peculiar shape; the drapery is designed in rectilinear triangular folds, very different from Duccio's more sinuous and flowing line. The folds of the drapery where they come to the contour of the figure have no effect upon the form of the outline, an error which Duccio never makes. Finally, the thrones in all these pictures have a constant form; they are made of turned wood with a high footstool, and are seen from the side; Duccio's is of stone, and seen from the front." I cannot understand how a distinguished critic, possessing fine powers of discernment and a wide

and accurate knowledge of Italian pictures, can have written such a passage as this. For every one of these peculiarities, which, according to Mr Fry, Duccio does not share, are to be found in undoubted works of his. Let us take one of them only, the little *Madonna* (No. 20) in the Stanza dei Primitivi in the Siena Gallery. If we look at this picture we see that in this as in other early pictures of Duccio, the iris of the Virgin's eye is larger than in the artist's later representations of the Madonna. We see that the nose is distinctly articulated into three segments. The mouth is slewed round from the perpendicular, as in all the master's early works. The hands are curiously curved. The drapery is designed in rectilinear triangular folds; and, as in other of Duccio's early pictures in this Gallery, we fail to find the sinuous flowing lines of his later manner. In this picture, as in Nos. 28 and 47 in the same Stanza, the folds of the drapery are in a measure calligraphic, as they are, in a measure, in the Rucellai *Madonna*. Finally, and this is an important point, the throne in the little *Madonna* is made of turned wood, has a high footstool, and is seen from the side. It is closely related to the throne in the Rucellai *Madonna*. Similar thrones are to be found in earlier Sienese pictures of the Siena-Byzantine school, such as the *St Peter Enthroned*, which is in the same Stanza dei Primitivi in the Siena Gallery.

The Child in the little Siena *Madonna*, I may add, strongly resembles, both in feature and in attitude, the representations of the Divine Infant in the Santa Maria Novella altar-piece.

I could easily show that almost all these "peculiarities" were also to be found in the other early works of Duccio and of his school.¹ Mr Roger Fry, in fact, has taken Duccio's last great work, a picture painted twenty-five years after the Rucellai *Madonna*, as the form of Duccio's style, and has neglected the master's early works in Siena. In an age of rapid transition, the style of an artist, who is himself a

¹ Segna imitated his master's early manner. His altar-piece at Castiglione Fiorentino is closely related to the Rucellai *Madonna*.

great innovator, naturally undergoes some modifications. The peculiarities so admirably observed by Mr Fry in the picture at Florence are some of the characteristics of Duccio's early manner. Living in the city which Giovanni Pisano had made his home, his style underwent some modifications. He studied more and more the structure of the human figure under northern influences. He became less Byzantine and more Gothic. The lines of his draperies become more graceful, more sinuous. The expressions of his *Madonnas* become less languid, less detached and impassive. In his Saints and Virgins we find more humanity, more expression of emotion, than in his earlier works. The movement in architecture shows itself, too, in the thrones he designs. When he painted the *Majestas*, Duccio had largely emancipated himself from Byzantine convention, and had acquired a greater command of his medium. To gain a knowledge of Duccio's early style one must not only study the great altar-piece in the Opera del Duomo—though even that picture, painted a quarter of a century later, is unmistakably related to the Rucellai *Madonna*—he must make himself thoroughly acquainted with the early works of Duccio and of Duccio's school.

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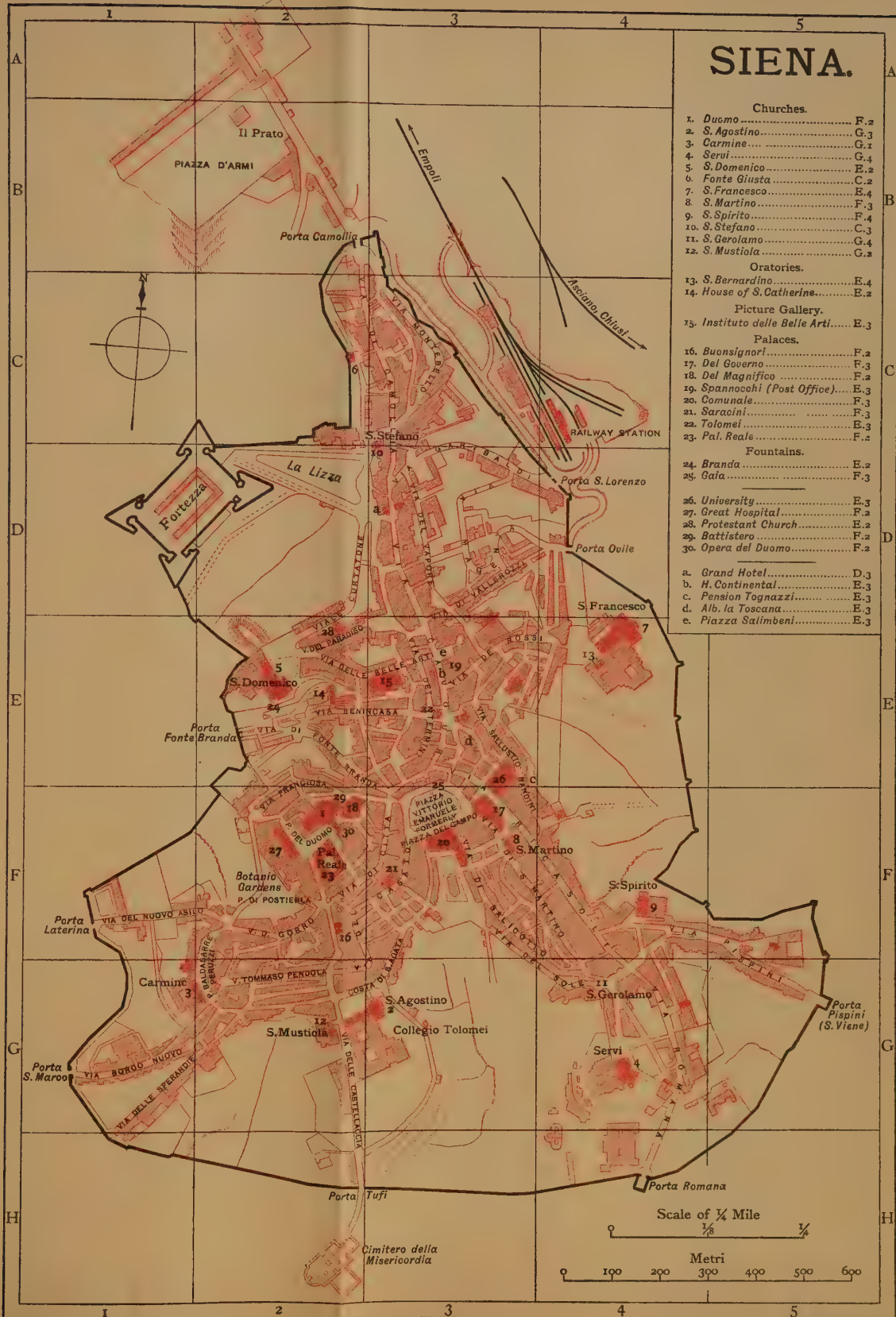
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